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The Kremlin Battle for Succession



Leonid Brezhnev

THE struggle to be the successor to Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev is already under way, writes Kremlinologist Victor Zorin, who says that the fight now shaping up involves three men, among whom Andrei Kirilenko is preeminent. The others he puts in the forefront are Frodor Kulakov, Mr. Brezhnev's protégé, and Alexander Sholepin, whom he rates as a definite outsider. But what of President Nikolai Podgorniy and Premier Alexei Kosygin? Mr. Zorin, adjunct professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington and a syndicated columnist appearing in the International Herald Tribune, takes an in-depth look at the struggle in the Kremlin and its possible repercussions for future Soviet foreign policy, including détente, on page 6.

Angolans In Discord On Future Of Armies

By Miguel Accoa

LISBON, Jan. 12 (WP).—Angola independence talks were on the verge of breaking up today over the future of the guerrilla armies of the rival black liberation movements negotiating the end of colonial rule with Portugal.

Informal sources said that the three antagonistic nationalist movements, which battled each other as frequently as they fought the Portuguese during their 13-year war for freedom from colonial rule, were unwilling to merge their military forces and give up control of the regions they dominate in the oil-rich African territory.



SOYUZ-17 Commander Alexei Gubarev (left) and the flight engineer, Georgi Grechko, just before their launching on Saturday as they were asking for permission to take off.

2 Russians Enter Orbiting Station In Docking Test

MOSCOW, Jan. 12.—Two Soviet cosmonauts today guided their Soyuz-17 spacecraft to a trouble-free docking with the orbiting Salyut-4 space station, entered it and began scientific experiments, Tass said. The operation followed the launching yesterday of Soyuz-17.

"A fantastic sight," exclaimed the mission commander, Lt. Col. Alexei Gubarev, as he and the civilian flight engineer, Georgi Grechko, maneuvered their ship the last 100 yards. Tass said. The white Salyut was bathed in the rays of the orbital dawn. It was the first successful Soviet space link-up in six months. It demonstrated that scientists had corrected the fault which prevented Soyuz-15 from docking with Salyut-3 in August.

USAF Choice Reported in Jet Rivalry

By Michael Getler

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (WP).—The Air Force, according to reliable sources, has selected General Dynamics Corp. of Texas as the winner of one of the biggest and most sought after new weapons contracts in history—the development and production of a lightweight jet fighter plane.

The initial prize for General Dynamics, which edged out California-based Northrop Corp., would be a contract for the final development of the plane, worth \$300 million, and an Air Force order for about 650 planes, worth an estimated \$3 billion. But the intensive competition for the fighter contract also involves a huge potential for overseas sales and the plane's possible use by the Navy as well.

In all, specialists estimate that the eventual sales of the relatively low-cost jet could run to 3,000 planes and be worth \$15 billion. The Air Force, Pentagon sources said, is expected to make a formal announcement on the winner of the contract tomorrow or Tuesday, barring any last-minute change in its plans by top civilian officials in the Defense Department.

Both the single-engine YF-16, built by General Dynamics, and the twin-engine Northrop YF-17, were highly rated by the Air Force. Both are also viewed by many U.S. and foreign experts to be superior to the French-built Mirage jet that is the principal competition for the initial overseas sales to four NATO nations. A number of senior civilian Pentagon officials are known to have failed in an attempt to get the Air Force to delay its selection for a week so that the Navy could also complete its evaluation of the two planes. The Navy, which may eventually buy a (Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Black Unit Calls on Rhodesia To Meet Talks Preconditions

SALISBURY, Rhodesia, Jan. 12 (Reuters).—The political division between Rhodesia's black nationalist leaders and the white Salisbury regime widened today when the African National Council (ANC) refused to attend a proposed constitutional conference unless a list of preconditions were met.

The ANC announced after a meeting of its policy-making committee that it would not attend the conference unless the government fulfilled what it said were eight conditions agreed upon at secret talks in Lusaka, Zambia, last month.

The development followed a news bulletin by the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corp. last night quoting sources close to Prime Minister Ian Smith's government as saying there would "certainly be no hand-over to black majority rule in Rhodesia, although it is intended to take Africans along."

Edson Sithole, the ANC publicity secretary, said after today's meeting that the Lusaka conditions included the release of all political detainees, a general amnesty for those considered to have committed political crimes, the creation of conditions for free political activity and the lifting of Rhodesia's state of emergency.

Convened by Britain

Mr. Sithole said that, in addition to the fulfillment of these conditions, the ANC would attend a conference only if it was convened by Britain, chaired by British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan and held outside Rhodesia.

The Smith regime is known to want to hold the constitutional conference in Rhodesia.

"On Friday, the Rhodesian government suspended the release of black political detainees and said that black guerrillas had not observed the Lusaka accord and had not adhered to a cease-fire."

In Lusaka, last month, the guerrillas and the Smith regime agreed to the cease-fire, the release of the detainees and the holding of the constitutional conference. The three black liberation guerrilla units also agreed to unite under the aegis of the ANC, which has no military arm, and prepare a joint stance for the conference.

True Violation

Fresh evidence that the truce has been broken came from Pretoria today as the South African government announced that another of its para-military policemen in Rhodesia had been killed by guerrillas, bringing to seven the number of such deaths since the Dec. 11 announcement of the cease-fire.

Mr. Sithole's reference to eight conditions agreed to by the Rhodesian government in Lusaka was the first public word of many of the conditions. Rhodesia had announced at the time of the cease-fire that it would release the political detainees.

Mr. Sithole said that the government had only "partially" met one of the conditions by releasing less than one-third of the black detainees. He also revealed differing interpretations of the cease-fire accord.

The Smith regime believes that the guerrillas should lay down their arms and surrender or leave the country. But Mr. Sithole said the cease-fire "means no more than stopping the shooting and not advancing beyond the lines where the respective forces are found."

In the earlier raids, the Israelis blew up roads leading to Hebbak, Chouda and Cheba, thus isolating them, to disrupt guerrilla activity in the region, and two water pipes near two of the villages, the command said.

The action was carried out in the framework of the preventive and safety measures taken by the Israeli Defense Forces to prevent the implementation of terrorist attacks in the area, a spokesman said.

He said the destruction of the roads did not represent a new Israeli tactic, although it marked the first time Israeli forces had staged such an operation in the area.

Guerrillas operating in the sector, which is the lower western slope of Mount Hermon, have begun ambushing Israeli military patrols with machine guns and bazookas fired from Lebanese territory.

The strategy emerged with the repeated thwarting of guerrilla attempts to enter Israel since their previous successful attack at Beit Shean in which three guerrillas killed four persons Nov. 18.

Since then, at least 13 guerrillas have been killed.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

CIA Is Said to Admit Spying in U.S.

By Jack Nelson and Richard Reston

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12.—William Colby, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, has informed the Justice Department of instances of domestic spying inside the United States by the CIA, Mr. Colby reportedly has denied the reports, although he has declined to comment on them publicly.

He is scheduled to meet tomorrow with an eight-member commission named by President Ford to investigate the reports. Vice President Rockefeller, the commission's chairman, called its initial meeting—a scheduled six-hour session—to discuss guidelines for the investigation.

Director Concedes 'Few' Instances

Mr. Colby is known to acknowledge that news reports were correct in identifying some of the "skeletons" unearthed in the CIA's closets by his predecessor, as director, James Schlesinger, the present secretary of defense. But Mr. Colby contends that the reports exaggerated the extent of the transgressions by linking the cases of individual misdeeds and domestic spying to a file containing the names of more than 9,000 American citizens.

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News Analysis

Taking Over Arab Oil Fields Held Possible but Dangerous

By Drew Middleton

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 (NYT).—Senior American and Western European military officers consider the seizure of selected Middle East oil fields militarily feasible but politically disastrous.

Generals and admirals consulted in the last four weeks in this country and in Europe emphasized that they had no knowledge that any such operation had been or was about to be planned by the United States or by any Western European government, although most of them conceded that any major nation's strategy would cover this and a multitude of other contingencies.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's remarks in a Business Week magazine interview a week ago and an article by Prof. Robert Tucker of Johns Hopkins University on the option of force in the January issue of the publication Commentary stimulated the military discussion.

Mr. Kissinger said "I'm not saying there's no circumstance where we would not use force" and indicated that this option might be considered when there was "some actual strangulation of the industrial world" by oil producers.

In his exploration of the mili-

tary option in Commentary, which is published by the American Jewish Committee, Prof. Tucker said that "elementary prudence counsels that we at least raise the question of employing extraordinary means for resolving the crisis." He posed the question: "Is military intervention technically feasible?"

The consensus of the officers consulted was that an operation against some oil fields would be feasible, although it was stressed that civilian discussions tended to discount the difficulties that would arise in the secondary phase of such operations. Many doubted that the area selected by Prof. Tucker offered the best conditions for the first and second stages.

The professor selected a "mostly shallow coastal strip less than 400 miles in length" from Kuwait down the Arabian coast to Qatar, which, he said, provides 40 per cent of the present production of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and more than 50 per cent of the total OPEC reserves.

Prof. Tucker noted that the strip contains no large population centers and is without trees—a factor favorable to military control. But this area, military sources pointed out, has disadvantages that they believe outweigh Prof. Tucker's arguments.

For example, surprise would be difficult to achieve in the Persian Gulf.

The general assumption among military sources was that any initial strike launched against Gulf-area oil fields would be carried out by airborne troops. The men would have to be flown either from bases in the Mediterranean Sea or from a naval task force approaching the Gulf across the Indian Ocean.

In either case, the Arabs would have adequate warning of the forces' approach by radar or from Soviet reconnaissance aircraft that patrol the area daily. The Arabs would have enough time to destroy all airfield installations by the so-called war of energy sources.

Observers here said the Pope may have been referring to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's recently published refusal to rule out use of U.S. military force "in the gravest emergency," such as economic strangulation of the industrialized world.

Pope Paul expressed regret that world peace rested on a "balance of terror" which provided "too fragile a shield against the onslaught of temptations to pre-eminence and oppression."

Second Reference

The Pontiff may have referred to Mr. Kissinger a second time when he mentioned statesmen whose policies earned them the title of "makers of peace," a description he used in praising Mr. Kissinger when the two met here last November.

Pope Paul said his speech was meant as a "message of encouragement not to lose heart when confronted with difficulties, but to redouble efforts with indomitable commitment."

He spoke of "those parts of the world where the situation appears capable of spreading the dangers of conflict to even wider areas, even to the point of involving the great powers themselves and the groups allied to them."

"We are thinking here of the Middle East, about which we have had to speak so often and about which we must speak again," the Pope said. "To the voice of force... we must unflinchingly oppose the strong and serene voice of reason, that voice which is the function and special mission of wise and good diplomacy," the Pope said.

Israelis Raid Into Lebanon

(Continued from Page 1)

Rifles and two Israelis have been killed and 13 other Israelis have been wounded in clashes on the frontier or inside Lebanon, military records indicate.

Israeli Warning

TEL AVIV, Jan. 12 (UPI).—The U.S. sale of 60 warplanes to Saudi Arabia could result in King Faisal's regime taking a more active military role in the Arab-Israeli confrontation with Israel, according to Gen. Mordechai Gur, Israeli Army chief of staff.

The U.S.-Saudi Arabian arms deal—signed last week—calls for delivery of about 60 Northrop F-5A jet fighters, spare parts, support equipment and a pilot training program. It is worth \$750 million.

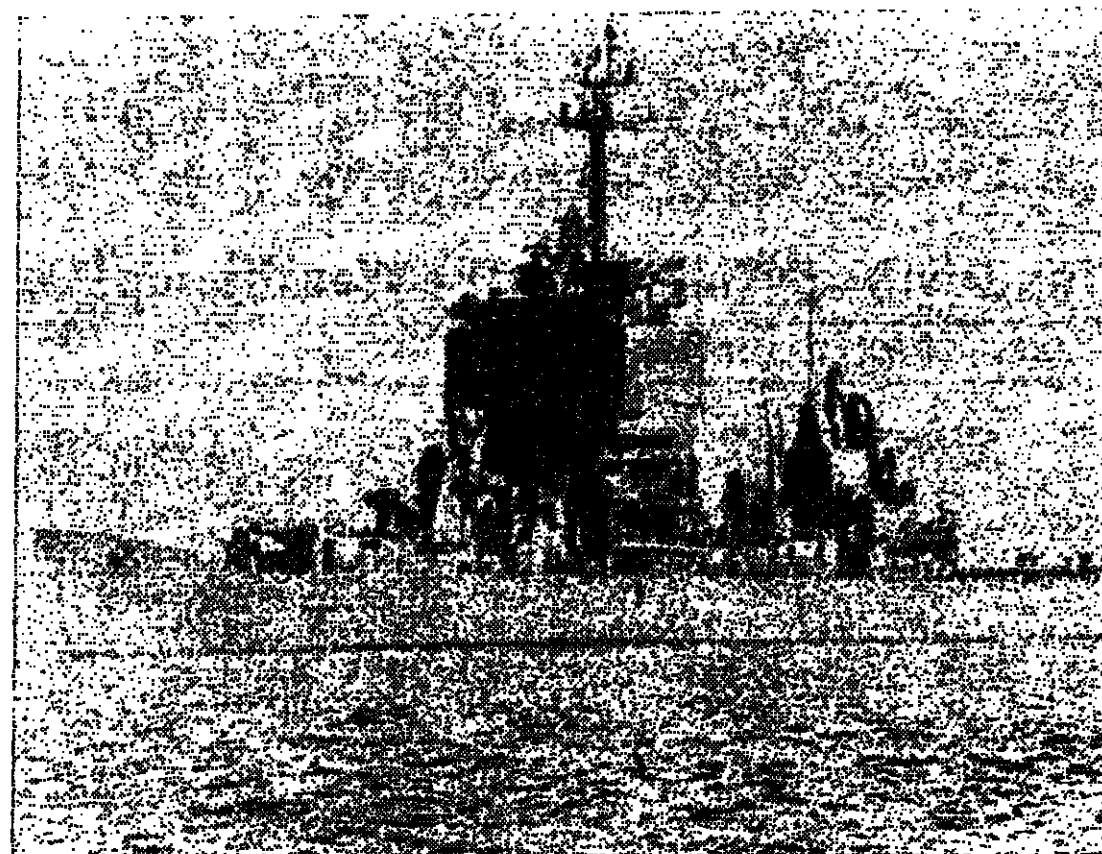
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The U.S. cruiser Long Beach passing Singapore on its way into the Indian Ocean.

Similar Case in Germany Cited

U.S. Internal-Spying Reaction Surprises Many Europeans

By Craig R. Whitney

BONN, Jan. 12 (NYT).—The controversy over charges of domestic spying in the United States by the Central Intelligence Agency has aroused considerable interest in West Germany, where similar activities were uncovered in October.

But in Bonn, as in Paris, Rome and London, occasional disclosures of questionable activities by security agencies have few lasting effects and the intensity of public reaction in the United States surprises Europeans.

"You don't have a country over there, you have a huge church," a diplomat here remarked.

Italians take it for granted that, if they have any social or political standing at all, their telephones will be tapped by one secret agency or another. Thousands of prominent Italians were discovered listed in the files of Rome's military intelligence service in a scandal six years ago.

In Paris, the secret service were caught last year installing bugs in the office of a satirical weekly, Le Canard Enchaîné.

In Britain, which is in a wartime-like condition because of Irish Republican Army bombings in Northern Ireland and England, the public expects MI-6, the secret intelligence service, to be discreet in their handling of domestic and foreign spying.

Cases of abuse seldom are published in the British press because of the Official Secrets Act, which makes disclosures like those made in The New York Times in recent weeks almost impossible.

The West German weekly journal of opinion, Die Zeit, pointed out a similarity between reports in The Times that the CIA had illegally investigated about 10,000 Americans from the 1960s until last year and disclosures that were made last year about the West German intelligence service.

Those were made in October.

CIA Spying Within U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

news reports about CIA operations in this country have made the agency more vulnerable to critics who contend that it has escaped public accountability by invoking the need for secrecy.

Investigations by the Rockefeller panel and congressional units may give the country its closest look at the secret organization since it was founded in 1947.

CIA officials in defending the agency can be expected to argue that most allied countries are much more secretive about their intelligence operations. They will also warn that the intelligence agencies of these countries are concerned about the increasing public scrutiny of CIA activities.

Los Angeles Times.

Probe Aide Said Chosen

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (AP).—A former counsel to the Warren commission is President Ford's choice to be executive director of the Rockefeller panel investigating the CIA, government sources said yesterday.

They said that Mr. Ford has selected David Bell, 46, who served as counsel to the Warren commission in its 1964 investigation of President John Kennedy's assassination, to head a staff of investigators, lawyers and others who will aid the Rockefeller unit in its probe.

Asked about the report, White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen said that he had no announcement about such an appointment.

Saudi Arabia Gives Jordan \$51-Million Aid

AMMAN, Jan. 12 (AP).—Jordan received \$51,530,000 yesterday in military assistance from Saudi Arabia.

A government statement said that the sum was Saudi Arabia's share of \$50 million promised by several Arab oil states to bolster Jordan's military strength.

during an investigation of the security services' botching of the case of Gunter Guillaume, the East German agent who worked in former Chancellor Willy Brandt's office until April and contributed to Mr. Brandt's resignation the next month.

The former chief of the Brandt chancellery, Horst Ehmske, said in parliamentary hearings that he had discovered in 1970 that the intelligence service had illegally kept files on 32 German politicians, ranging from opposition leader Franz Josef Strauss to the man behind the Brandt Eastern policies, Egon Bahr.

According to Die Zeit, "The causes of the violations are identical. Here, as there—in the United States—the secret service justified itself and created its own laws outside the laws of the commonwealth. Here, as there, existed the danger Thomas Jefferson once said threatened every free state: 'That uncontrolled power can easily become all-embracing power.'"

Destroyed Files

Mr. Ehmske's disclosures provoked a few newspaper articles but whatever spying had gone on was four years in the past. Mr. Ehmske told the parliamentary commission that some of the files no longer existed—he had ordered them destroyed. Mr. Ehmske said he believed that the files were kept by Christian Democrats in the secret service who hoped to use them to embarrass the new Social Democratic government, which has been in power since 1969.

The parliamentary committee's continuing examination of the Guillaume case is expected to produce a report next month that may lead in suggestions for a reform of the entire intelligence system.

It has been made clear in public testimony that Mr. Guillaume rose to his position as Mr. Brandt's assistant for party affairs even though strongly incriminating evidence against him had been in the government files for nearly 20 years. The various bits and pieces were never put together for the authorities, who approved a top-secret security clearance for him in 1970. The responsibility for the failure is still a matter of dispute.

The German Bundesnachrichtendienst, a federal intelligence service, was built up after World War II by Gen. Reinhard Gehlen, the intelligence genius of Hitler's Wehrmacht. At first, he worked directly under American occupation authorities and, after West Germany became independent, he cooperated closely with the American services.

Limited in Scope

Like the CIA, which was created in 1947, the German agency was limited to foreign intelligence. A second agency, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution, was created for domestic security. Keeping of files on German politicians, therefore, was clearly a violation of the federal intelligence service's charter, as CIA monitoring of American civilians would be a charter violation in the United States.

There is, essentially, a more relaxed attitude toward such violations here than there is in the United States. Mr. Ehmske told Die Zeit in an interview in October that he thought the service would be justified in keeping files on a German politician if he were making contacts with foreigners here—just the thing that critics of the American service say is illegal in the United States.

Germany is perhaps a special case, because of the division into capitalist and Communist states and, as Mr. Guillaume proved, it is comparatively easy for an East German agent to pass himself off as a loyal West German citizen.

The lines between domestic and foreign intelligence in West Germany, therefore, are easily blurred. The CIA is known to consider the German intelligence services so riddled with East German agents that the Americans do not share real top secrets with it. Estimates of the number of Communist spies of various sorts in West Germany run as high as 10,000.

Flights Over Hanoi Cited

(Continued from Page 1)

manently out the Mekong as the last major supply line to the capital. All roads to the capital have long been cut off and most of the supplies from South Vietnam and Thailand arrive by river.

There has been no traffic along the Mekong since the rebels began their offensive New Year's Day and seized sections of Highway 1.

In South Vietnam, government troops, backed by heavy air strikes, reportedly breached a Communist siege of Hoai Duc, a district town 75 miles northeast of Saigon.

Field reports said Viet Cong forces pulled back from Hoai Duc to avoid a pincer movement by hundreds of government troops. Medical evacuation helicopters lifted a score of wounded government troops from the town, the reports said.

Cambodian rebels fired a dozen rockets into Phnom Penh, killing two children and wounding five persons, reports from the scene said. More than 100 persons have been killed or wounded in daily shelling since the start of the rebel offensive.

Western diplomats said quick response by government troops had apparently blunted the first phase of the insurgents' drive around the capital. But they said the second wave could come any day.

Military sources said thousands of refugees were streaming into Neak Luong, which they said was under continuous artillery fire. An ammunition dump was reportedly blown up and wounded soldiers were evacuated by helicopter.

Carrier Leaves Area

SINGAPORE, Jan. 12 (UPI).—The nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Enterprise and its escort vessels sailed through the Strait of Malacca yesterday, apparently headed for the Indian Ocean.

The sighting of the task force ended speculation that the carrier, which is carrying F-4 fighter-bombers, might be headed for duty off Vietnam.

The six-ship task force, which included the nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser Long Beach, moved into the strait at the southern end of the South China Sea this morning.

The task force's departure from Subic Bay in the Philippines Tuesday coincided with a Communist take-over of Phuoc Binh,

U.S. Ordered To Pay Victim Of a Bugging

\$903,232 Assessed In 1st Such Award

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (AP).—A federal judge has ruled that the Justice Department must pay \$903,232 to a former Washington lobbyist because the FBI illegally eavesdropped on him 12 years ago in a Washington hotel room.

U.S. District Judge Charles Richey on Friday ordered the money paid to Fred Black Jr., a former business associate of Robert (Bobby) Baker, former secretary of the Senate.

Justice Department attorneys said it was the first time that the federal government has been ordered to pay damages growing out of illegal surveillance.

The case arose out of the FBI's illegally placing a microphone in a wall of Black's suite at a hotel on Feb. 7, 1963. The bug operated for 12 months and the information obtained through it reportedly was disseminated to various law-enforcement agencies.

Black was convicted in May, 1964, of income tax evasion. During his appeal of the conviction, the U.S. solicitor general informed the Supreme Court of the illegal bugging.

The solicitor general said that the FBI reports on the bugging were "captioned 'anti-racketeering' since these dealt with possible affiliation with organized crime activity." But he said there was no suggestion that "any wrongdoing" by Black "was uncovered by the monitoring."

Judge Richey's opinion stated that, after reports on the eavesdropping were filed with 27 government agencies fighting organized crime, Black's income dropped to \$4,500 in 1965 and \$2,500 in 1966. According to his tax returns, he earlier had made at least \$542,779.

The judge expressed displeasure that the Justice Department, claiming executive privilege, had refused to turn over documents relating to the surveillance. He rejected that claim.

Black said that, because he owes \$900,000 on taxes, he probably will never see any of the money awarded him.

2 1/2-Year Study Fails to Show If Saccharin Causes Cancer

By Harold M. Schmeck Jr.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (NYT).—After a study that began a 1 1/2 years ago, a panel of experts has reported that it still cannot determine whether or not the artificial sweetener saccharin causes cancer when fed to test animals.

The committee's report called for more research to settle the question. The Food and Drug Administration, which commissioned the study in June, 1972, said the sugar substitute would remain on the market with certain restrictions to limit its use, while the agency evaluated the report and decided what further research was needed.

Americans consume several million pounds of saccharin a year, 70 per cent of it in soft drinks. The committee of experts organized by the National Academy of Science's National Research Council reviewed all the available data on toxicity studies that have been done on saccharin.

"The results of toxicity studies thus far reported have not established conclusively whether saccharin is or is not carcinogenic when administered orally to test animals," said the committee report, which was released last week by the FDA.

The committee suggested further

Saturn-Rocket Debris Returns, Burns, Disappears Over Atlantic

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla., Jan. 12 (AP).—About 83,500 pounds of rocket debris plunged into the earth's atmosphere over the Atlantic Ocean yesterday. Almost all of it burned up during re-entry, space officials reported.

The debris was part of the second stage of a Saturn rocket that carried the Skylab space station aloft in 1973.

Radar showed that one large piece survived the initial phase of re-entry over the Atlantic, about 1,000 miles west of Gibraltar, but officials said they were unable to determine just how much if any of the debris plunged into the ocean.

Some of the charred debris may have fallen on the Sahara, the only land area within the maximum projected range for re-entry fragments, officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said.

The agency said, however, it had received no reports of sightings of any of the debris that fell.

The space agency earlier had said that the possibility was very slim of anyone being injured by the re-entry of the rocket stage, which fell to earth after completing 9,533 orbits.

U.S. Air Force Is Said to Select General Dynamics' Fighter

(Continued from Page 1)

many as 800 new jets, is a potentially larger purchaser than the Air Force.

The Air Force, however, apparently with the backing of Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, declined to wait.

Sources say that the Navy is leaning toward the twin-engine Northrop plane, which could set the stage for a major inter-service battle that would spread to Congress.

Warnings Issued

Two key congressional committees, both with powerful legislators from Texas on them, warned the Pentagon months ago to stick with one plane for both services. Thus, the Navy may now be pressured to buy the Air Force plane.

Or it may be decided, with recession and unemployment problems in mind, to allow the Navy to choose the Northrop plane.

If this happens, the total development costs would be considerably higher because two planes would be involved. This could raise the U.S. price to European buyers.

A number of U.S. specialists are worried because the U.S. government, which must get approval each year from Congress for spending programs, cannot give as firm a guarantee on price to

European nations as can the French company, which works hand-in-hand with the French government. There also is concern over the fact that a number of potential foreign buyers seem to favor a twin-engine aircraft.

An important factor in the Air Force's choice of the YF-16 is that the plane's single engine is the same one that is used by the larger and much more expensive twin-engine F-15, the Air Force's latest front-line fighter plane. The engine has gone up in price, from \$1.5 million to \$2.3 million each.

The new jets are expected to cost between \$4 million and \$5 million each.

350 Planes Needed

The four NATO countries that will decide between the U.S. and European entries are the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Belgium. These nations need a total of 350 planes to replace the aging American F-104 Starfighter jets. The Netherlands is known to have threatened to buy the French plane unless a twin-engine U.S. jet is selected.

Larger sales are foreseen to West Germany and Iran. Both countries are also seen favoring twin-engine planes.

If the European purchases are split between France and the United States, then a major part of NATO, to standardize its planes in service, would be lost.

A top-level Air Force team was scheduled to leave for Europe to explain the decision to the Europeans and to offer additional pricing details.

Burns, Schmidt Hold Bonn Talks On Money Crisis

BONN, Jan. 12 (WP).—U.S. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns met yesterday with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Finance Minister Hans Apel and Karl Klassen, head of the West German central bank, to discuss the world financial crisis brought about by the oil-exporting nations' quadrupling of their price.

Officially, they were said to be discussing "international financial questions." Both Mr. Ap and a spokesman for Mr. Burns refused to elaborate. Mr. Burns' arrival in West Germany, on flight from the United States, Hamburg, had been kept secret until late yesterday morning.

A Federal Reserve official refused to say whether Mr. Burns was going to visit other European capitals for talks.

The meeting here reported was arranged at the request of President Ford. It was conducted in a hotel because Mr. Ap, due in Washington tomorrow, is attending a meeting of the Group of 75 representing the world's industrial countries. Later in the week, he is to attend a Washington meeting of the Committee of Twenty, representing developed and underdeveloped nations.

The prime topic at both sessions is expected to be the balances in the international financial situation brought about by the increased price of oil. The United States and West Germany differ in several respects on how best to handle the crisis. Mr. Burns generally supports the European nations in opposing a sort of confrontation with the producers.

France Modifies Oil-Talks Plan

PARIS, Jan. 12 (AP).—President Jean Sauvagnargues confirmed yesterday that France has dropped its proposal for a conference of oil producers, industrialized consumer nations and Third World countries, emphasizing that the decision dropped the tripartite formula made at the request of developing countries.

Mr. Sauvagnargues explained that opposition to the "tripartite" had been expressed by Third World nations, who fear that there is no distinction between those of them who have oil and those which do not. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's original suggestion had been to set up a meeting including oil-producing nations and separate groups representing the industrialized oil-consuming countries and the developing consumer states. The President's office on Friday reaffirmed France's desire for such a meeting on energy problems but the first time made no reference to the "tripartite" formula, which the United States had opposed.



NO SMALL PROBLEM—West Germany's tallest soldier, Horst Thürke, is head and shoulders above all of his buddies at an even 7 feet. Stationed just outside of Munich, he doesn't mind the many jokes but does hope the army will soon find a bed his size.

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SALE
of Winter Collection Models
Wednesday January 15
From 9:30 a.m. to 1 p.m.
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20, rue des Capucines

هكذا من الأهل

Return
er Atlas
'Strang Policies' Needed.

Senate Panel Would Double Ford's Cuts in Imports of Oil

By Richard T. Cooper

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee today announced that it would double the oil import cuts recommended by President Ford's energy task force.

The committee's report, which was passed by a vote of 12-4, would cut oil imports by 50 percent by 1980, from 1.5 million barrels a day to 750,000 barrels a day.

The report also called for a 50 percent cut in oil imports by 1985, from 750,000 barrels a day to 375,000 barrels a day.

The committee's report was the first of a series of reports that the committee expects to release over the next several months.

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Blizzard Hits U.S. Midwest; 2 Are Killed

CHICAGO, Jan. 12 (AP).—A blizzard with winds gusting up to 60 miles an hour battered the Midwest and central states today, leaving at least 13 persons dead.

Hundreds of persons were stranded and thousands of others were without electricity as the storm moved through Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland.

The storm produced snowdrifts ranging up to 10 to 12 feet, and power lines collapsed, making many roads impassable. Air traffic also was hampered throughout the Midwest, particularly at Chicago, Detroit, and Minneapolis.

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S. Agency Cites Radiation Peril 300,000 TVs

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (AP).—More than 300,000 color televisions sets that appear to operate on maximum allowable radiation levels from the Food and Drug Administration today.

The agency's report, which was passed by a vote of 12-4, would cut oil imports by 50 percent by 1980, from 1.5 million barrels a day to 750,000 barrels a day.

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HAT IN THE RING—Former Democratic Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma announcing his candidacy for president in Concord, N.H., on Saturday as his wife LaDonna stands by.

Ex-Sen. Harris Opens Drive for White House

CONCORD, N. H., Jan. 12 (NYT).—Fred Harris, the former Oklahoma senator whose first presidential campaign lasted only six weeks in 1971, opened a bid yesterday for the 1976 Democratic nomination, describing his effort as a war against privilege.

"Privilege is the issue," he told a crowd of supporters. "The basic question in 1976 is whether our

government will look after the interests of the average family or continue to protect the super-rich and the giant corporations."

Mr. Harris—following Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona and Jimmy Carter, the retiring governor of Georgia—is the third Democrat to declare for the New Hampshire primary early in 1976. That primary again is expected to be an important first hurdle for presidential candidates.

Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen Jr. of Texas are both expected to enter the Democratic field within a month. Former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina also is expected to enter the field.

Mr. Harris said that he was "shocked" by the raid and denied that any of his films were pirated copies. Mr. Drebin said that, for 90 percent of the films seized by the FBI, he has "legitimate lease contracts" and that the other 10 percent was acquired during a period of years.

Last month, a South African citizen who allegedly came to the United States to buy films was arrested. Harry David Katz, 31, of Johannesburg, was freed after he posted a \$35,000 bond on charges of transporting stolen goods in foreign commerce.

FBI affidavits filed in the Katz case revealed that he bought his films from Hollywood Films Exchange, owned by Woodrow Wise of Sun Valley, Calif.

Mr. Wise was identified by agents as "one of the largest illegal film dealers in the U.S." In a 1971 civil suit brought against Mr. Wise by numerous movie studios, he signed a consent decree agreeing to halt copying and/or distributing films.

But the FBI filed documents with the court indicating that Mr. Wise had a mailing list of several hundred persons to whom he offered movies and television shows for sale. The list of films ranged from the newest films on the market—usually selling for about \$400 to \$500—to classics going for as little as \$35.

Although much of the illicit traffic is believed to be within the United States to private collectors and small exhibitors, sources close to the investigation say that it is in the foreign distribution that the big money may be made.

Although these persons in possession of pirated films within the United States could be prosecuted on charges of receipt of stolen property, there are indications that the government instead is concentrating its efforts on the main suppliers of illicit films.

On Thursday in Indianapolis, FBI agents seized 300 reels, representing 49 films, from the home of Robert Brown. Although Mr. Brown was not arrested, the FBI in an affidavit filed with the U.S. District Court there described him as a "film collector, who buys, sells or rents counterfeit motion pictures."

The affidavit filed to justify a search warrant, said that the FBI probe of the Los Angeles-based laboratories has revealed catalogs advertising more than 15,000 counterfeit films.

A similar raid was conducted Thursday at Budget Films, a Los Angeles distributor of films for some of the largest studios and a large quantity of allegedly pirated films.

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Bemoans Ex-President's 'Exile'

Ziegler Says Officials Persecute Nixon

By Kenneth Reich
and Howard Seelye

SAN CLEMENTE, Calif., Jan. 12.—Declaring that he is "fed up" with Richard Nixon taking it in the "ear," Ronald Ziegler, in a two-hour interview here, decried what he termed the "vindictiveness of some in Congress and some in the Ford White House" toward the former president.

"I feel very strongly that what is happening to this man today—despite Watergate—is not right," Mr. Ziegler said in the first lengthy interview he has given since Mr. Nixon resigned Aug. 9.

The 35-year-old former White House press secretary, who is about to leave his post as Mr. Nixon's chief of staff at his estate here, characterized as "absurd" White House statements last week about billing Mr. Nixon \$8,440 for the part of his flight to California in Air Force 1 that followed the point at which his resignation from the presidency had taken effect.

And he said he was "appalled" that White House aides and other federal officials have been refusing to forward Mr. Nixon's mail and such personal property as political memorabilia and high school papers despite five months of efforts to retrieve them.

Mr. Ziegler said that "what is happening to Richard Nixon as a human being" as a result of the treatment he is getting is "very serious."

"The fact that he has survived this period to me is remarkable," Mr. Ziegler said.

"What severity of penalty does this society want from a leader? You know, he resigned in disgrace. He is certainly a beaten man."

Mr. Ziegler wants to put him in a cell, there is a cell out there [at the estate], Mr. Ziegler added in the Friday interview at San Clemente. "Have you seen the size of his office? What more is wanted?"

The White House has refused to comment on Mr. Ziegler's remarks.

Mr. Ziegler also discussed his own home, not counting direct expenses of the Secret Service, which were not disclosed.

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from criticism, saying that Mr. Marsh and an assistant had been "extremely cooperative" in trying to work out Mr. Nixon's problems with property that is being stored at the White House.

But he accused "many" White House aides of not being cooperative and he said federal officials who "fell over themselves" installing all sorts of equipment and conveniences at San Clemente when Mr. Nixon was president are now "unbelievably" eager to proceed with dismantling everything.

Mr. Ziegler said he did not believe that Mr. Ford knows the way Mr. Nixon is being "mistreated." He said Mr. Ford, who was reported to have called to wish Mr. Nixon a happy 62d birthday last week, had probably telephoned Mr. Nixon only three times since his resignation.

Mr. Ziegler appeared particularly angry at the attitude of Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary. It was Mr. Nessen who said Friday that \$8,440 would be billed to Mr. Nixon's transition budget for the flight in Air Force 1 to California from a point near Jefferson City, Mo.

"For anybody in the White House to say that Richard Nixon should pay for his flight from Jefferson City to San Clemente, it's absurd," Mr. Ziegler said. "It would seem to me that any rational mind would say, 'Well, of course not.' Yet, it is suggested. It is unbelievable!"

Los Angeles Times.

U.S. Spent \$367,000 on Nixon In 3 Months After Departure

By Richard L. Madden

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (NYT).—The White House has announced that the government spent \$367,000 to support former President Richard Nixon in the first three months after he resigned on Aug. 9.

Mr. Nessen, the White House press secretary, said Friday that, although the amount was well above the \$200,000 appropriated by Congress for a six-month transition period ending Feb. 9, much of the money was spent on activities not covered by the transition legislation, which did not become law until Dec. 27.

The largest part of the money, for example, was \$154,000 in salaries and living expenses for staff members temporarily assigned to Mr. Nixon at San Clemente, Calif., but paid by federal agencies. Mr. Nessen said that the staff had been reduced to 14 until Feb. 9. Another item was for \$83,000 in estimated rental value for government-owned space in which Mr. Nixon's records and gifts in Washington.

The figures for the period of Aug. 9 to Nov. 9, which were disclosed by Mr. Nessen in response to questions, were submitted Nov. 18 by Roy Ash, director of the Office of Management and Budget, to Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Texas, the chairman of a House Government Operations subcommittee which had investigated federal spending at Mr. Nixon's home at San Clemente and Key Biscayne, Fla.

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GHETTO GAME—Forsaking the streets of Harlem for its rooftops, this youngster passes the time jumping from the top of one burned out building to another.

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Brazil Agency Rejects Call To Pacify Indians by Force

RIO DE JANEIRO, Jan. 12 (NYT).—Brazil's national Indian agency has rejected suggestions that force be used to pacify Amazon Indians who have reacted with increasing violence to the penetration of their areas by settlers and road builders.

Indian tribesmen attacked a white settlement recently in the territory of Rondonia, near the Bolivian border, killing a worker and injuring another. About two weeks ago, another group of Indians killed a leading expert on Indians and three other employees of the Indian agency in an attack on a government post in the northernmost territory of Roraima.

The increasing clashes in the Amazon jungle area, where an estimated 100,000 Indians live, have led to pressures from some quarters, even from within the Indian agency, for a more aggressive policy and punishment of the warrior tribesmen.

"Our

A New Congress

When the 94th Congress convenes this week it will continue what has become a modern tradition in American government—the sharing of power between a president and a Congress of differing philosophical persuasions. The new Congress with its substantially strengthened Democratic majority is considerably more liberal than the President. But that is nothing new.

Since President Franklin D. Roosevelt lost a working majority in Congress for his New Deal program in the midterm election of 1938, there have been only two brief periods in the succeeding 36 years when a chief executive and the majority of the House and Senate saw eye to eye on major domestic issues.

This division of power bewilders all but the most sophisticated foreigners and often worries Americans themselves. But in a nation of such size and diversity, this divided authority may represent a reasonable balance among contending viewpoints and interest groups. In any event, history has shown that sharing of power can produce effective government.

Conflict between parties and between philosophies is not only normal but necessary. In a free society, politics is the means by which problems and ideals are articulated, disagreements expressed, and decisions worked out. Those who expect harmony or unity to prevail in Washington are expecting what political democracy cannot—and indeed, should not—provide. As long as the great conversation of self-government stays within the bounds of civility and decisions are reached within a reasonable time, the nation can well afford the din and clash of angry debate and even some self-interested partisanship.

* * *

Justice Holmes was fond of remarking: "Conflict is the core of life." Cooperation, however, is also at the center of existence. Otherwise, organized national societies would hardly be viable. In government, as in other spheres of activity, patterns of conflict

and cooperation evolve. President and Congress tend to develop their own.

It is not yet clear whether President Ford intends to stress the adversary or the accommodating sides of his relationship with Congress. He begins in a position of weakness. He came into office five months ago without a personal mandate from the electorate. During these months he has suffered the fastest decline in popularity ever recorded by the Gallup Poll. His moral prestige was dimmed by the Nixon pardon, while his leadership capacity is now being severely tested by the demands of a deteriorating economy.

Congress cannot by itself govern the country; if it were to attempt to do that, it would have to choose a committee of its leaders to act in its behalf which would be tantamount to parliamentary government in the European manner. But Congress can take major initiatives in formulating national policy. The nation's three basic labor laws—the Wagner Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Landrum-Griffin Act—were drafted on Capitol Hill rather than in the executive. The Wilderness Act and several other conservation laws were formulated by members of Congress working with public-spirited citizens. Tax laws are usually much more the work of Congress than of the Treasury Department.

Congress and the President can be expected to devote most of their attention to a wide range of measures to cope with the inflation, the recession, and the energy problem. If President Ford falters on economic issues, Congress is sure to substitute its judgment for his. In the lively controversies certain to develop in the next two years, the public can benefit from the competition between the two branches.

The test will be whether the conflict produces ultimate agreement on constructive legislation or dwindles into sterile stalemate. The power is shared by President and Congress; so is the responsibility.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Venice Rising

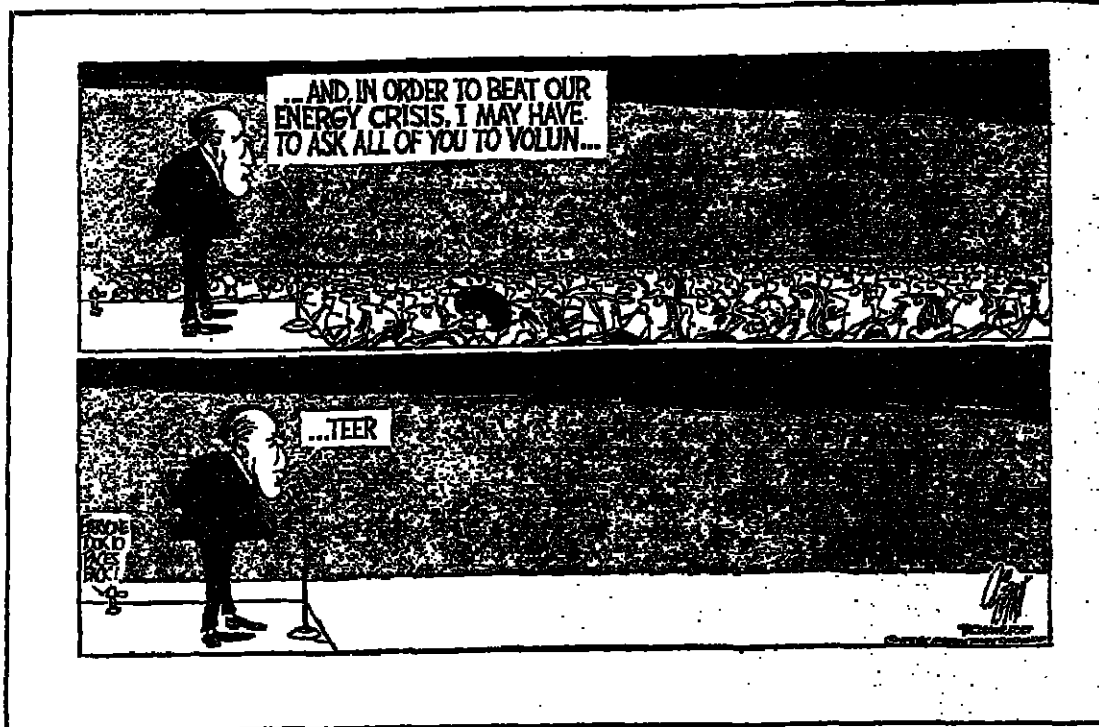
A few corners of the world are universal places, living reminders of civilizations worth preserving. Venice would be near the top of any such list of modern wonders. It is neither left, right nor center, neither Communist, Fascist nor Christian Democrat. The Italian city on the Adriatic has been called "a place where you anchor your soul."

The new cooperation, between the Communists and the city's dominant Christian Democratic administration, on urban renewal should be viewed as a sign of faith instead of as a political coup. The burden and the glory of saving the city from crumbling and sinking into the lagoon has been held up too long by political conflicts and conflicting plans. Like the numerous schemes to prevent the Leaning Tower of Pisa from tumbling, Venice has an embarrassment of choices. There are plans to narrow all three entrances to central Venice; build movable locks that can be closed during times of

rising waters; build locks separated by dikes and reduce the width of the entrance to the lagoon. The fundamental idea is to keep the city open to shipping—it cannot be what it never was, a museum piece alone—while retaining its essential character.

There have been some improvements made in Venice's monuments, thanks in large part to privately raised funds. Major restorations have given some of the buildings and churches the golden look of Byzantium again—the appearance forever captured in the paintings of Guardi, Tiepolo and Canaletto. Now the city itself must be safeguarded against the erosion of time and industry without mundane politics. It is long overdue, as Byron noted in the 19th century: "Oh Venice! Venice! When thy marble walls are level with the waters, there shall be a cry of nations o'er thy sunken halls, a loud lament along the sweeping sea!"

THE NEW YORK TIMES.



Decline of Pretense in Washington

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—At the beginning of the new year, the most hopeful sign in Washington is the general decline of pretense. There are still a few windbags around pretending that everything will turn out rosy, but on the whole, the mood here is serious, and there is a greater willingness to face the economic and political facts.

This is a big change. No big promises now. No self-proclaimed saviors babbling about generations of peace and prosperity. Just a lot of ordinary guys in trouble, looking for a way out and asking for help. It's not very heroic, but it's a little nearer to reality. Suddenly, all the big shots have been cut down to human size. The President doesn't pretend he has all the answers. One day he is fighting inflation with budget cuts and bigger taxes, but he changes with the facts and proposes tax cuts and a bigger deficit to fight the recession, and doesn't grieve much over the switch.

Even the President's wife, who is expected by tradition to strike an adoring pose, treats her guy in public like any other fallible husband. Watching him on television celebrate international woman's year the other day, she took him by the hand and laughed and told him he has "come a long, long way."

Rockefeller Busy

Things are so bad now that even the Vice-President is given work to do. Unlike his predecessors, Nelson Rockefeller is spending most of his time downtown on the second floor of the Executive Office Building across the street from the White House, making coffee for a stream of visitors. He hasn't had time to move in to the new Vice-President's house on Observatory Hill, to move his family to town or to organize his staff, but already he is deeply involved in domestic and foreign policy, not to mention the CIA controversy, and is getting almost more assignments than he has time to handle.

The mood is different on Capitol Hill, too. Freshmen members of the House of Representatives are supposed to slip quietly into town and tip their hats to

the elders of the establishment. This year, the 76 new Democratic members arrived and demanded the right to question the Democratic chairmen of the committees, and their demand was granted. In the next few days, they will also be questioning Kissinger.

The balance of power is shifting in the Congress. The authority of the autocratic chairmen of the committees is waning. The tragic collapse of Wilbur Mills is merely a symbol of a much wider dispersal of power. The chairman of Ways and Means will no longer have a veto over tax policy. It will, for good or bad, be determined by a much larger and more liberal Ways and Means Committee. And even the leaders of the House, Speaker Albert of Oklahoma, and Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts, are no longer as secure in their jobs as they were a year or so ago.

In short, at the beginning of the new year and the new Congress, there is an obvious reduction in personal authority in both the legislative and executive branches of the government, and this extends even to the authority of men like Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, and to institutions like the Central Intelligence Agency, which have been relatively free of congressional control in the past.

Now Kissinger, who starts the year with a bad back, is complaining, with some justification, that the Congress is not only performing its duty to set the broad lines of foreign policy, but is trying to dictate the day-to-day negotiations. And the CIA is protesting that it cannot run a secret intelligence operation if all its secrets are subject to public disclosure.

So the new mood around the White House and the Congress raises some new questions. Both places, the procedures are more open and more liberal. The exercise and the trappings of personal authority have been stripped away.

Hugh Sidney of Time magazine, for example, notes that Richard Nixon's sliding door in the Oval Office, the secret entrance for secret guests, has been removed and plastered over by Ford. The 15 eagles and 307 battle streamers in the Nixon Oval Office have

disappeared, along with the tape recording system, and the President of the United States is now available to members of the Cabinet, the Congress, and the press, for candid discussion of the nation's problems.

All this is to the good, but the question now is how this new freedom will be used. Nothing in recent history has prepared Washington for the shared responsibility President Ford is now offering to the Cabinet, the Congress, the press and the people. They have all been complaining in recent years that the President and his staff were doing too much and were too remote, and now they are complaining that President Ford is doing too little, not being decisive enough, not coming up with a program that will solve all our problems in a hurry.

Democrats Split

Washington doesn't quite know how to react to these new conditions. After the dominant personalities and presidencies of Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, the cabinet members don't quite know how to exercise their new authority. The Democratic party is split a dozen ways, with half a dozen of its members in the Senate running for the presidency, and it can't quite agree on a party program to deal with the nation's problems.

Even the press is slightly baffled by the President's informal and disarming ways. He gives interviews whenever he likes. Some of them are on the record, and usually he talks as frankly and casually as he did when he had the boys in for a drink on Capitol Hill.

In the process, he exposes his problems and admits his weaknesses. In other words, he is an honest man, limited in many ways and looking for help, insisting that the remedies lie not with him alone or even with the government as a whole, but with the cooperation of the whole nation—business, labor, and all the rest. In short, no pretense, and the problem is that Washington hasn't yet adjusted to a President who admits honesty that he doesn't have all the answers.

Who's That Knocking at My Door?

By C.L. Sulzberger

ROME—One of Europe's most fascinating political questions is simply this: For 30 years Italy has had the West's largest, most brilliantly led Communist party and it has been continually edging toward the seats of power. During these same 30 years the non-Communist parties running this country have increasingly messed up the job. Yet the Communists have not made it. Why?

Right after Fascism's end, there was a brief period which saw Communist collaboration in government just as in contemporary France. They helped draft and approve the national constitution. Nevertheless, although seeming to approach closer to their goal, it eluded them.

The United States, when still the unchallenged superpower, worked as a kind of co-belligerent with the Vatican in opposing Marxism. The traditional first instruction of any American ambassador to Rome was: "Keep Italy from going Communist."

New Look

I doubt if it is put that specifically nowadays. As for the Vatican, since Pope John XXIII, it has worn a new look. Over the last 10 years there have been dialogues between church intellectuals and Communist intellectuals, seeking to soften points of disagreement.

I discussed this singular problem with Armando Cossutta, of the Italian party's 18-man Politburo, also a member of its seven-man Secretariat. The son of a Milanese worker, he was educated as a doctor but has been in politics since the World War II partisan resistance.

Cossutta explains that the "historic compromise" now envisioned with the dominant Christian Democrats by party leader Enrico Berlinguer is designed to get Italy off dead center by arranging a government of the two largest parties which would renege some of their differences for the sake of a nation in crisis (there is current inflation of 22 per cent, substantial unemployment, and continual

anxiety about possible right-wing coups).

Berlinguer evolved his concept at the end of 1973 after Chile's right-wing counter-revolution. The Communists insist a "communist" government with Christian Democrats would function only so long as it had parliamentarian support. If that ended, it would voluntarily retire. They claim it would tolerate all kinds of opposition press and political opinion save Fascism—which is specifically banned in the constitution.

Cossutta says the American CIA opposes this concept. He thinks Washington still wishes to keep the Communists from a share of power, but the shift in American public opinion may be reflected soon in an altered policy. Notwithstanding, Secretary Kissinger bluntly told Italian Catholic leaders last year the United States opposes Berlinguer's formula.

Letters

Too Much Ego?

As an American medical student forced to study abroad because of the rigid admission requirements which exist in the United States, I could not help but feel incensed over Henry Mason's remarks in the article (J.T., Jan. 6) on the hiring of foreign medical school graduates in the United States.

If the possibility of "oversupply" of physicians is truly threatening the American Medical Association, then how are these 8,000 new foreign doctors finding residencies and staff positions to fill?

Where is the evidence for "oversupply" in the poorer states like West Virginia and Arkansas, which are almost completely dependent on foreign doctors to fill their state hospital staffs?

Perhaps this fear that doctors will become as ubiquitous as teachers has caused the AMA to keep almost constant the number of seats available in the medical schools the same as in 1929. The egotistic monopoly which exists in American medicine stands to lose simply by the law of supply and demand which the foreign students influence.

It is certainly time for the AMA to start concerning itself less with the annual income of the average doctor, and more with the increasingly important problems such as the type of medical care the average American can afford, and the educational pathways it leaves open to its citizens.

CONSTANCE HAYDEN, Limoges, France.

Humor Shortage

The "Humor Shortage in '75" as exposed by Art Buchwald (J.T., Jan. 2) is indeed a source of profound anxiety for all thoughtful people. Although one can depend upon man's ingenuity to discover a substitute for oil, humor, a creation of the spirit, is irreplaceable—and the world without it would be an even sadder vale of tears.

ESTHER DELCOURT.

Détente Seen Affected No Joy in the Kremlin Over Capitalist Crises

By Peter Osnos

MOSCOW—There was a time not so very long ago, Soviet political scientists are telling their Western friends these days, when the mounting troubles of capitalist economies would have had Communists rubbing their hands with glee.

That, say the Russians, is no longer the case. Prolonged instability in the West is likely to deter Kremlin pursuit of eased world tensions, goes the reasoning here, and certainly will affect another principal objective of détente: the strengthening of the Soviet economy through closer cooperation with the capitalist states.

"Difficulties on the other side, hardly make life easier for us," remarked Georgi Arbatov, the director of the U.S.A. Institute in Moscow, recently. Arbatov has publicly recalled on a number of occasions that the "mediocre" depression of the 1930s had led to Hitler's Germany and insupportable grief for the Soviet people in the world war that followed.

Use of Cartoons

Some outsiders might reasonably question the sincerity of the Soviet position. The controlled press carries detailed accounts of Western economic misfortunes. Almost daily, newspaper cartoons feature the hapless unemployed being exploited by bloated "monopolists" who foster uncontrolled inflation.

On the other hand, there is no mistaking the determination with which Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and his colleagues have been seeking improved ties with the United States, Western Europe and Japan. In the last quarter of 1974, Brezhnev has quite literally hurried from meetings with one Western head of government to another.

And as far as the Russians are concerned, a main test of these developing relationships appears to be the economic benefits they provide. Brezhnev has signed a score of economic and trade agreements with his capitalist partners and a growing number of businessmen file through Moscow, or set up shop here permanently, looking to make sales, or in some cases, purchases.

Given the opportunity, the Soviet appetite for Western technology is enormous. In recent years, the Russians have bought West German power plants, French engineering units, American foundries, Italian automobile works and hundreds of other smaller items from advanced computers to a gleaming Brunswick bowling alley.

Rise in Purchases

In 1973, Soviet orders for Western machinery and equipment were valued at \$2.7 billion, a 60-per-cent increase over the year before. When they become available, the 1974 totals are certain to show a similarly sharp rise in purchases. The purpose of these expenditures is to modernize lagging industries here. The Russians recognize that in the future they will be relying increasingly on the efficiency of production to continue growth rather than a limited

less labor pool they counted on in the past.

During the next five-year plan Brezhnev said in a speech in fall, "Our chief reserve must be in raising our effectiveness." In recent years, according to American estimates, although Soviet investment per worker has been about the same as that of the United States, what the divisional Soviet laborer produces has been equal to only half of American counterpart. It is apparently in hopes of redressing that balance that the Russians turned to the West in the West technology.

Equipment Costs

However, as the pace of inflation in the West has increased so has the cost to the Russia of improving their economy. Or a few years ago, the Kremlin could count on medium and long term credits at interest as low as 6 per cent to finance the deals. Now, they are faced with charges as high as 13 per cent from some commercial banks. All of that, of course, is on top of the steady price rise in equipment itself.

The Russians could, of course, cut back on their more expensive transactions. The Kremlin is a ready pressuring leaders in Washington, Paris, Bonn and elsewhere for help in arranging cheap credits. The problem for Brezhnev and the others is that they have committed themselves so to raising the Soviet standard of living that backing down now would be hard.

To increase food production, the Russians need better farm machinery; to provide higher-quality household goods, they need access to better designs and synthetics. Even where progress has been considerable in the consumer area, there remain serious shortages.

For example, the scarcity passenger cars in the Soviet Union has been eased by the mass production of Zhigulis, copied from the Fiat-124. But since a Soviet customer gets his car, the chance he still won't have tires, rear-view mirror and other spare parts.

In all, Soviet policy planners have evidently decided that the advantages of doing business with the Western states, despite inflation and other difficulties, outweigh the consequences of trying to go it alone.

Trade Balance

There is, however, another important feature to the Soviet economic situation at the moment. The surge in the price of raw materials has turned the Soviet trade balance around from a 500-million-ruble deficit at six-month point of 1973 to a 1.3-billion-ruble surplus in July 1974, according to official figures. Soviet exports of oil, extracted iron, manganese, chrome ores and nonferrous metals, among others are a good deal more valuable than they were before. This is apparently more than offset by the continuing grain purchases and the import of oil, foodstuffs and raw goods.

The trade surplus adds to Soviet currency reserves given them the ability—although not seems, the will—to pay cash Western products that they sought in the past to finance with credits.

Whether the Russians will attempt to take undue advantage of the world energy and metals shortages is not altogether clear. Many of the strains that have been traced to Kremlin support for the 1973 Arab oil embargo and the subsequent fourfold increase in oil prices. The Russians have been criticized in some Western circles for a general lack of cooperativeness on international economic issues.

Fuel Needs

There have been signs that the Russians are a little concerned that their own fuel may be expanding faster than their ability to meet them. This has been renewed emphasis recently on coal as a resource; oil conservation drives are underway, although without the urgency of Western campaigns.

If the Russians are to maintain their present favorable position on raw material supplies, they must believe, then it is essential that the Kremlin successfully and soon in exploitation projects with Western countries and private industry. Negotiations for such projects on Siberian oil and gas fields have been inconclusive.

In that regard, too, the Soviet Union has a stake in preventing world economic turmoil.

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

January 13, 1900

PARIS—The signs of the times seem to indicate that the days of the editorial writer are numbered. The tendency for a long time has been in the direction of short editorials. The editorial page, as it is called, has steadily decreased in size and importance in most of the successful papers, until now we have but two or three columns of what are little more than editorial paragraphs. And it also seems that the dailies themselves are being replaced by the reviews, the magazines and the weekly papers.

Fifty Years Ago

January 13, 1925

BRUSSELS—Mme. Isadora Duncan, the famous dancer, who is here awaiting a passport so that she may enter France, has announced the reason for her trip to Moscow. She says that in May, 1921, she was asked by the Soviet Government to take charge of a school of 1,000 children there. "I accepted," she says. "My only wish was to make the children happy and to foster the reaction against the Russian theater and ballet of czarist times, which I hate. I paid for all my expenses out of my own pocket."

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News Analysis

French Revaluation of Gold Could Have World Effects

By Clyde H. Farnsworth

PARIS, Jan. 12 (UPI).—The revaluation of gold by the French government is neither a new nor a novel move, but it is a move that could have world effects. The revaluation of gold is a move that could have world effects. The revaluation of gold is a move that could have world effects.

example in the next few years and peg their gold reserves at "realistic" market values.

If this occurs, the effect would be to revalue gold as a resource to help pay a nation's bills. This is important because many nations, such as France, Italy, Britain, Japan and even the United States, now have much higher oil bills to pay and will end up owing large sums of money.

Metal Was Frozen
Nations used gold to settle their accounts for hundreds of years, a practice that stopped a few years ago because gold's "official" value in international transactions was lower than its value in the marketplace. Gold was, in effect, frozen.

For nearly four decades the official price was \$35 an ounce and for most of this period the market price was the same because governments controlled it. But, in 1968, governments stopped controlling the market price and it began rising to reflect the inflation that was then building up.

The United States successfully devalued the dollar and, on Feb. 12, 1973, announced an agreement with its trading partners on another "official" gold price—\$42.22 an ounce.

The French action is expected to begin a process of wiping out that "official" price, eventually permitting transactions between governments at market-related prices.

What is more likely in the near future is that, instead of exchanging gold, nations will use the higher-valued metal as collateral for loans. Italy did this last year when it borrowed money from West Germany by pledging Italian gold at \$120 an ounce.

To some people the revaluation of gold appears to be a magician's trick.

Two Years of Deficits
Before the revaluation, France's reserves were valued at \$4.4 billion. Now they are worth \$11 billion. The \$12-billion difference represents two years of deficits in the French foreign accounts.

The French are buying time to balance their accounts, time in which oil-producing states might increase their purchases of Western goods and thus reduce the buildup of their surplus funds.

The oil states are not happy about what is happening. Iran, Iraq and Algeria have already expressed their displeasure. More criticism is expected at a meeting of oil-producing nations Jan. 24 in Algiers.

Their main point is that the creation of this new wealth is likely to be highly inflationary and, therefore, will erode the value of the paper money, mainly dollars, that they get for oil. The dollar's international value has been dropping sharply in recent months and is near its lowest level, which was recorded in June, 1973. This weakness has nothing to do with the gold question, but the coincidence has caused the oil nations' suspicions that some kind of trick is being played on them.

France has repeatedly stated that the markup of gold values is not inflationary because it will not have any effect on the domestic money supply. Most of the major Western nations have long severed any relationship between gold and their currencies.

Yet, there could be an inflationary tendency, some analysts believe, unless the increase in world reserves resulting from a write-up of gold stocks is matched by an increase in world output.

The oil states created a cartel to control oil prices. They suspect that the Western industrial states, as owners of most of the world's gold, are creating their own cartel to get even.

Whitlam Visiting Leningrad, Then Going to Moscow
MOSCOW, Jan. 12 (UPI).—Prime Minister Gough Whitlam of Australia arrived in Leningrad today, the first Australian head of government to visit the Soviet Union.

Moscow television said that he was welcomed by Merchant Marine Minister Timofei Gumenko, the Australian ambassador and other officials.

"The arrival of the head of the Australian government," Tass said, "is being welcomed in the Soviet Union and a hope is expressed that the visit will serve a further development of relations of friendship and cooperation" between the countries.

Mr. Whitlam will spend two days in the Soviet Union's second largest city before going to Moscow for several days, Australian officials said.

Mr. Whitlam arrived in Leningrad after a three-day visit to Yugoslavia.

French Baron Shot, Dies In Battle to Save Manor

By Jonathan C. Randal

PARIS, Jan. 12 (UPI).—Baron Jean-Louis de Portal, 22, died today of wounds received yesterday in a shootout with gendarmes who stormed his provincial manor house, which he had sworn to defend in keeping with his family's defiant motto—"We Are Armed for Vengeance."

The baron, the last male heir in an aristocratic Protestant family that once was rich and powerful but had become impoverished, was shot three times in his stomach as gendarmes moved to evict him, his mother and sister after a dispute over possession of their ancestral home.

The ancestral home had lasted more than two years. The baron's mother, Marie-Agnès, 50, and his sister, Marie-Agnès, 23, were committed by authorities to a psychiatric hospital.

The way thus lay open for Louis Riviere to take possession of the dilapidated 30-room manor house that is part of the 387-acre estate he bought two years ago after his court seizure for debts.

Baron de Portal's last words as he was taken to a Montauban hospital early yesterday were a warning to the gendarmes sharpshooters who had wounded him: "I survive, I'll get you all."

After the eviction, the wounded nobleman's mother, Polish-born Baroness Anne de Portal, 50, and his sister, Marie-Agnès, 23, were committed by authorities to a psychiatric hospital.

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A recent photo of Marie-Agnès and Jean-Louis Portal.

a navy minister in the 1814-24 reign of King Louis XVIII, Baron Léonce, long paralyzed, died at age 89 in March, 1973.

After the gendarmes' eviction of his family, Baron Léonce was finally buried last night in the village cemetery at Saint-Nauphary, near the ancestral home.

Wounds 2 Workers
The raid had been ordered by court and gendarmes officials of the Tarn-et-Garonne Department after Baron Jean-Louis on Friday afternoon slightly wounded two of Mr. Riviere's farmhands who had started winter plowing on La Fumade's land. The gendarmes' assault was begun only after a half-hour of surrender entreaties proved to no avail.

Baron Jean-Louis was known to have a couple of shotguns, a 22-caliber rifle with a telescopic sight and considerable ammunition at his disposal. He had slightly wounded a gendarme who had tried singlehandedly to carry out the eviction order in 1972.

In the final assault early yesterday morning, a gendarme was wounded by gunshot burns on the face—and narrowly escaped worse wounds—when, in searching the manor house, he ducked when he saw a shotgun barrel poking through the door of a darkened room where the baron and his sister were hiding.

The wounded gendarme's colleagues then shot Jean-Louis.

though are fined a mere £10. We would like to see fines of up to £100 and prison for at least five years."

The main offenders are youths under 18, football fans and groups of young men who emerge from pubs and discotheques late at night.

Special rewards have been offered for information leading to the arrest of those who assault bus crews.

John Bruce, chief operations manager of London's subway system, said: "The main trouble on the Tube is from gangs of 20 to 30 youths who storm the ticket barriers without paying, cause a disturbance while on the platform and vandalize the compartments." He also cited a problem with pickpockets.

Four subway stations are to be equipped with video scanners linked to a central console, like those introduced successfully in American and French banks. A record of attacks will thus be stored on video tape.

The government is also considering equipping London buses with horns that blow and lights that flash at the flick of a switch if the driver or conductor is in trouble. Two-way radios, to summon police, may also be installed in buses, but expense limits their use.

Mr. Morgan said that the London bus system's main problem, apart from general vandalism, is caused by customers who have not paid the correct fare for the distance traveled. "Belligerent passengers refuse to pay and the result is often a fight," he said.

"In the first six months of last year," Mr. Morgan said, "there were 361 assaults on bus crews. Recently, a youth threw a meat cleaver at the driver of a one-man bus in Brixton, South London. It missed its target but completely wrecked the ticket machine."

But the most expensive and

notorious type of violence occurs on the railroads, where hooligans returning from football matches and bored youths cause havoc.

More than £100,000 in damage was done to trains in southern England last year by hooligans ripping seats, smashing lavatories and breaking windows. The main offenders were football fans who rampaged through stations and trains, terrifying passengers and railroad workers. Even plain clothes policemen traveling on special trains to and from football matches could not cope with the violence.

Perhaps the most dangerous vandalism is committed by children and young adults who hurl stones at train engineers from bridges and block the tracks with anything from railroad ties to bricks, causing derailments.

But it has been ordered a special storehouse for 75,000 worth of equipment so that damaged parts can be replaced as quickly as possible.

Mr. Richardson seems convinced that he is taking an important job. In his view, the British-American relationship is critical not only in itself but for the impact it can have on issues and policy in the West. "To put it simply," he said, "to the extent that we are in agreement and work together we can have a greater impact jointly than either of us can alone."

If confirmed by the Senate, Mr. Richardson will succeed Walter Annenberg, a multimillionaire Philadelphia publisher who spent much of his time in London refurbishing the huge embassy residence in Regent's Park and cultivating British society—much of which, a Foreign Service officer complained, has nothing at all to do with the post.

Since Mr. Annenberg's departure at the end of October, American officials have been looking for a replacement. Mr. Richardson, 54, has been spoken of as a logical candidate for each of those jobs.

The ambassadors who became president were James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren and James Buchanan. The vice-presidents were George Dallas and Charles Dawes. The secretaries of state were Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, P.T. Frelinghuysen, John Hay and Frank Kellogg. John Adams became ambassador to the court of St. James's after serving as both president and vice-president.

In fact, it was suggested to him by way of an enticement to take the job—that he might be next in line for the post of secretary of state, if Henry Kissinger steps down.

"I certainly didn't pose it as a condition," Mr. Richardson said, "but it was suggested." He acknowledged over lunch recently.

No Messenger Boy
"I know people are saying it will get him out of the way, or that taking it is a cop-out, or that the job is not up to his abilities," Mr. Richardson said. But he said he has assurances that he won't be a messenger boy. Moreover, a certain distance from American politics is welcome to him at this time. "I didn't want to appear to be promoting whatever prospects might come up," he said.

At a State Department press conference Friday, Mr. Richardson repeatedly said he considers the ambassadorship "an opportunity I took for my own sake."

Among Mr. Richardson's former posts are deputy secretary of state and attorney general, which he resigned 15 months ago rather than displace the first Watergate special prosecutor, Archibald Cox, as ordered by former President Richard Nixon.

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Nominated as Envoy to U.K.

Richardson Is on Route Taken By Four to U.S. Presidency

By Marilyn Berger

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12 (UPI).

—Elliot Richardson's predecessors as U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James's include four men who became president, two who became vice-president and six who became secretary of state. Three of the ambassadors who became president were also among the six secretaries of state and one man was named ambassador after serving as both president and vice-president.

The statistics were something of a surprise to the man President Ford nominated last week to be the U.S. ambassador to Britain. But they were statistics he seemed to relish, for Mr. Richardson, 54, has been spoken of as a logical candidate for each of those jobs.

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Elliot Richardson UPI.

ican officials in London say, they have been trying to get the embassy to operate as it should, developing contacts with British leaders.

"Bright People"
Mr. Richardson sees part of his role as bringing people together to discuss major issues in order to bring about a better understanding of what can and should be done. "There are a lot of bright people in government, in the opposition, and outside the government," he said.

"For example, I'd like to get to know the British labor union people. I'm told some of them are impressive, tough-minded, sophisticated people."

Britain is going through difficult times, with inflation, unemployment and the apparent breakdown of the so-called "social contract" between labor and business. Mr. Richardson says he wants to understand the British as they see themselves.

"I don't want to be, or be perceived to be... a marriage broker... or everybody's little Mr. Fixit, rushing in like Mary Worth," he said, but he clearly sees himself becoming, at the least, well-schooled in the intricacies of British politics.

When it comes to entertaining, Mr. Richardson has a tough act to follow. Mr. Annenberg boasted that he spent \$250,000 a year to maintain an appropriate diplomatic front. But, he said at a farewell luncheon, "this embassy could be handled on \$75,000 to \$100,000, but not in the way I like to run it—with fine wines and flowers in every room."

Funds Allocated
There are the sometimes controversial "representation allowances"—the money diplomats spend to entertain.

The representation funds allocated to the entire 115-man U.S. Embassy in Britain for the fiscal year that ends June 30, 1974, amounted to \$26,150. The projected 1975 fiscal year budget for the embassy is \$30,000.

It is apparent that Mr. Richardson will be out of pocket. He is by no means poor and most Americans would probably consider him rich. But he is not rich by the standards of some of his predecessors.

"I intend to demonstrate," Mr. Richardson said, "that the embassy can be managed on a State Department salary. I'm an advance man for the Foreign Service," he quipped, saying that after him the post will be open for the career diplomats of ordinary means.

But Mr. Richardson already has an understanding that the representation allowance for the embassy will be increased, although not by much, and he is planning to spend some of his own money—the money he receives from renting out his own house here.

Mr. Richardson has been working on a book and since receiving an advance from Holt, Rinehart and Winston, he said, he returned what remained of the \$35,000 a year stipend he was receiving as a Woodrow Wilson fellow. "I felt that in the post-Watergate morality it should be returned so that I would not be paid twice for the same book," he said.

Occasionally he reads biographies about British leaders, including two recently on Disraeli and Queen Victoria, and he was "brought up" on Punch, a satirical magazine that he says steeped him in British politics of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The only time he spent in Britain was six months in 1944, when he was 24 and in the armed forces, just before the Normandy invasion. He remembers very beautiful weather that spring, bicycling around Devon and painting watercolors. He still has one, of Exeter Cathedral.

Britain Studying Ways to Curb Train, Bus, Subway Violence

The Kremlin Battle for Succession Is Already Under Way

By Victor Loria

WASHINGTON.—"Lies have short legs," the Kremlin says in response to Western reports of Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev's troubles and then proceeds to berate "the so-called Kremlinologists" who are said to be spreading the lies. The Kremlinologists, it says, "indulge in all kinds of prophetic tales that are nothing more than groundless inventions." Freud had a better explanation of the method by which Kremlinologists manage to penetrate the Kremlin's deepest secrets.

He once told a story of how an East European Jew—and some of us make the best Kremlinologists—observed in a train which was taking him home to his village a young man who seemed to be going there, too. As the two sat alone in a compartment, the Jew, puzzled about the stranger, began to work things out. "Only peasants and Jews live there."

"He is not dressed like either, but still, he is reading a book, so he must be Jewish. (This is known to Americans as 'chutzpah.') But why to our village? Only 50 families live there and most are poor. Oh, but wait, Mr. Shmuel, the merchant, has two daughters. One of them is married but, for the other, he has been seeking a husband. Mr. Shmuel is rich and lately has acquired a son, so he would not want anyone from the village for his daughter. He must have asked the marriage broker to find a son-in-law from the outside."

But Mr. Shmuel is old and cannot travel to meet a new family, so he would probably want a son-in-law from a family he knows. This means it would have to be someone that had lived in the village but moved away. Who? The Cohen family had a son. Twenty years ago they moved to Budapest. What can a Jewish boy do there? Become a doctor. Mr. Shmuel would like a doctor in the family. A doctor needs a large dowry. The boy opposite is neat but not well-dressed. Dr. Cohen. But in Budapest, Cohen wouldn't do. Probably changed his name. In Budapest? To Kohn? A name which comes as naturally to Hungarians as Cohen to Jews.

'Excuse Me'

As the train drew into the village station, the old Jew said to the young man: "Excuse me, Dr. Kovacs, if Mr. Shmuel is not waiting for you at the station, I'll take you to his home and introduce you to your betrothed." Replied the astonished young man: "How do you know who I am and where I am going? Not a word has passed between us."

"How do I know?" said the old man with a smile. "It stands to reason." This is how Kremlinologists in the West's leading intelligence agencies, and outside, have played their trade for years, sitting at their desks with a copy of Pravda and, for the most part, staring vacantly at it. Just now, they would be looking in it for the text of the Kremlin statement denouncing Kremlinologists—but they would not find it there because it was distributed by Tass only to foreign newspapers, not to Soviet ones. "Why?" they would ask. "What's the Kremlin trying to hide. Obviously with Mr. Brezhnev III—a fact which has not been reported in the Soviet press—the succession is at issue in the Kremlin. Who would be most likely to take over from him?"

The fight that is now shaping up for the Brezhnev succession is likely to involve three men, among whom Andrei Kirilenko, who usually stands in for Mr. Brezhnev when the party leader is away from Moscow, is preeminent.

The consensus among intelligence analysts is that Mr. Kirilenko—nine months older than Mr. Brezhnev, who has just celebrated his 65th birthday—is by far the most healthy and vigorous senior member of the Politburo. But because of his age, he is thought to be more likely to form something in the nature of an interim administration and to keep the seat warm for Fyodor Kulakov, 66, Mr. Brezhnev's own protégé, until the younger man acquires the experience and standing to take over the reins.

Ambitions Feared

Most analysts agree that Alexander Shelepin, who in Mr. Brezhnev's early years as the party's principal secretary showed a distinct appetite for that post, has been relegated so far down in the Politburo hierarchy as to be no serious contender for power at this time. At 66, only a few months older than Mr. Kulakov, he is seen at most as a possible future challenger of Mr. Brezhnev's nominee—if, that is, he is allowed to survive in the Politburo that long by men who fear his ambitions.

This, then, is the conventional wisdom and, if everything goes the way Mr. Brezhnev would like, it is what may happen. Mr. Brezhnev has indeed tried to

make sure that something like this would happen by entrusting much of the day-to-day management of affairs to Mr. Kirilenko and by gradually advancing Mr. Kulakov—who is now the party secretary responsible for agriculture, as well as a member of the Politburo—to top posts.

But the line of succession rarely follows the intentions of the departing leader unless he has actually handed over power before he retires to the man of his choice and given him enough time to consolidate his position. This Mr. Brezhnev has failed to do, perhaps out of fear that Mr. Kirilenko might use such power to ease him out before he was ready to go—as Mr. Brezhnev did to Nikita Khrushchev, who had given too much power to his deputy, Mr. Brezhnev. Khrushchev had become careless in his old age, partly because he was trying to do so much, on so many fronts, that he had to delegate a great deal of his power if he was to be effective.

Lesson Not Lost

But if that lesson is unlikely to have been lost on Mr. Brezhnev, his present illness might still compel him to delegate and to shed some of his power in the way Khrushchev did, if for different reasons. Indeed, it is difficult to see how he can avoid doing so much longer when, as is known from Soviet sources, his poor state of health has compelled him for some time to reduce his work week to something like three days.

It is not necessarily disloyalty that would cause Mr. Kirilenko to push his way up, past an ailing general secretary. To be effective as a policy-maker, to secure the compliance of the bureaucracy in the execution of his policies, the man in charge of affairs in the Kremlin must be seen to be clothed in the full panoply of power. To act effectively during Mr. Brezhnev's illness, which might be long if not incurable, he must be seen to be heading off an interim administration. Mr. Kirilenko would need to step into Mr. Brezhnev's shoes as soon as possible.

The rules of the game which require this sort of action are not confined to the Kremlin. The most recent example occurred in France, when President Georges Pompidou sought to conceal his illness and failed to give sufficient power to a potential successor lest too ambitious a man should somehow come to rule in the President's name. But the struggle for the succession to Pompidou, the

'Because of Kirilenko's age, he is thought to be more likely to form... an interim administration and to keep the seat warm for Fyodor Kulakov, Brezhnev's own protégé.'

Jokeying for position, began long before his death—as soon, in fact, as the inner circle, whose members were to be the most likely contenders for the succession, became aware of his illness.

In much the same way, the struggle for the succession to Mr. Brezhnev has probably been in progress for some time and the Kremlin debates on a number of major issues of policy, discernible between the lines of the Soviet press, cannot have been unconnected with it.

Forced to Yield

On some issues, particularly such as arms control and the SALT negotiations, Mr. Brezhnev's views ultimately prevailed, as is evident from the Vladivostok agreement, but only after he managed to overcome a number of challenges from the hard-liners. On other matters, particularly those of domestic policy and the economy, Mr. Brezhnev has been forced to give way repeatedly.

As these struggles went on behind the high walls of the Kremlin, a piece of evidence became available which shows that Kremlinology is not yet dead, even in its most ancient and primitive manifestation, which requires the study of Pravda photographs of the leadership.

During Stalin's reign and for a while after his death, there was only one way to determine the ranking of the members of the Politburo in the hierarchy: by studying their placing in official group photographs. One



Fyodor Kulakov

such group picture, which is still published regularly during meetings of the Supreme Soviet, shows them all seated in much the same order of precedence, with hardly a change from year to year. On the front bench last month were the big men: Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Kirilenko, Mr. Shelepin, and, on his right, Premier Alexei Kosygin. President Nikolai Podgorniy, party theoretician Mikhail Suslov and Mr. Kirilenko, Mr. Shelepin was relegated to the back bench some time ago, while Mr. Kulakov's advancement to the second bench conformed with his rise as Mr. Brezhnev's favorite. But in December 1968 when Mr. Brezhnev moved to consolidate his power he had just taken over from Khrushchev against potential Politburo challengers, he was back in the power game—and raring to go.

Power Game

No one could say for sure what changes this portends in the Politburo's internal alignment but one thing is certain: Mr. Shelepin, who has been slipping since 1965 when Mr. Brezhnev moved to consolidate his power he had just taken over from Khrushchev against potential Politburo challengers, is back in the power game—and raring to go.

It is difficult to conceive that Mr. Brezhnev would have willingly allowed Mr. Shelepin to come forward in this way. But an ailing Mr. Brezhnev would be less able to resist Mr. Shelepin's attempt to push himself forward—or the attempt of Mr. Shelepin's supporters to push him forward, in order to block Mr. Kulakov while there is still time.

By the same token, should Mr. Brezhnev's health improve against all present expectations, he would be in a better position to ward off the challenge from Mr. Shelepin or anyone else and would certainly try to sit it out until next year's party Congress. The Congress is scheduled to pass a major blueprint for the Soviet Union's long-term future, which would allow Mr. Brezhnev, he might well hope, to take his place in history books as the man who has modernized the Soviet system and has brought it back into the 20th century from the middle ages into which Stalin had pushed it.

One reason why the publication of the picture in Pravda and all the other Soviet papers is significant is that it signaled to Mr. Shelepin's supporters in the bureaucracy that he is on the move again. Mr. Shelepin has many such supporters. As head of the Komsomol, the Communist youth organization, he was instrumental in selecting and training the most promising politically oriented individuals who thus went to the front of the line for promotion to the party's top jobs. Most Soviet leaders, in their climb from small beginnings to the Politburo or party Secretariat, leave behind them a trail of supporters and beneficiaries who have reason to be grateful for the step given them in advancing their own careers.

When Mr. Shelepin last appeared to be making a bid for power, some years ago, members of this "Komsomol faction" suddenly became visible in a number of key jobs, from which they were dismissed when Mr. Shelepin's star began to fade. But they are still about and so are many others who would be more than happy to see him move up again.

An Opportunist

As a former chief of the secret police, Mr. Shelepin certainly has a following among men whose support could be decisive in a succession crisis—just as their lack of support for Khrushchev was decisive in facilitating his overthrow. Although he once had the reputation of being a neo-Stalinist hardliner, Mr. Shelepin is above all an opportunist who will take on whatever political coloring the advancement of his ambitions may require. It is too often forgotten that

Khrushchev, the greatest de-Stalinizer of them all, climbed to the top position in the Kremlin over the political body of Georgi Malenkov, whose liberal domestic and foreign policies Khrushchev had at first attacked.

Some Westerners that have met Mr. Shelepin, who has had more contact with foreigners in his present position as head of the trade unions, have found him charming, witty and the most intellectual of Soviet leaders, except perhaps for Mr. Kosygin. There are things in his past which make it conceivable that, in spite of his Stalinist reputation, he might become a de-Stalinizer if he were to reach the top post—although he might well use his hard-line image to win first the support of the predominantly hard-line bureaucracy, just as Khrushchev did.

Less is known of Mr. Kulakov, who has not traveled abroad much and who has met few foreigners, even in the Soviet Union. But when he does come into contact with Westerners—as, for instance, during summit visits—he conveys the impression of an intelligent, socially adept man, more at ease with foreigners than some of his seniors. His performance as party secretary in the provinces, and more recently as the party secretary responsible for agriculture, suggests that he is both an able administrator and politician.

Experience Needed

As a member of the Politburo, Mr. Kulakov has taken part in some of the debates and decisions concerning foreign, military and industrial policies, but he has no direct experience in managing the country's affairs. This is one of the reasons why he would need two to four years to acquire some experience in handling these key areas of foreign policy, while Mr. Kirilenko remained in charge during the transitional period.

It is generally assumed that, at 68, Mr. Kirilenko might be content to play this caretaker role, and that the other members of the big five—Mr. Kosygin, Mr. Podgorniy, and Mr. Suslov, old men in poor health—are not candidates for the succession to Mr. Brezhnev. But they may not take the view of their own prospects which comes so naturally to others. Konrad Adenauer was 73 when he became West Germany's first postwar chancellor, at a time when the management of his country's affairs required the greatest energy, and he stayed on for 14 years. Mao

'Shelepin, who has been slipping since '65 when Brezhnev moved to consolidate the power he had taken from Khrushchev... is back in the power game and raring to go.'

Tse-tung and Marshal Tito, both over 80, and Charles de Gaulle, who retired in anger when he was 79, are other examples that the Politburo seniors are likely to cite in their own favor.

But the argument applies with greatest force to Mr. Kirilenko who, once he finds himself at the top and gets to like it—which would be only human—may decide that he would really prefer to stay there. Some of the younger aspirants to power, who are not quite ready for the post yet, therefore, prefer a less-solid member of the big five in the transitional role, one who could be counted on to make way for the next generation more willingly when the time came.

It would be wrong to give the impression that the struggle for the succession is simply a struggle for power, for the top job. The fight for the succession to Lenin and Stalin were that, but they were also struggles over policies, as was the power struggle which preceded the fall of Khrushchev. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to say where the struggle for power ends and the struggle over policy begins. To carry out the policy you favor, you must have power and, to win power in the Kremlin, you must have the support of important sections of the bureaucracy for the policies you advocate.

Signs of Struggles

This power-over-policy struggle always goes on in the Kremlin but it becomes more intense at times of crisis, international or domestic, because it is then that changes are most likely to be demanded and that it is easiest to challenge the established authorities. There were, for instance,

signs of such struggles and of a serious threat to Mr. Brezhnev's position after the outbreak of both the 1967 and the 1973 Middle East wars. The cancellation of the visit he was to have paid to Egypt this month appears to have been only partly due to his health, for the circumstances surrounding it, and the manner in which it became known, suggest that it was a blow to Mr. Brezhnev's policy. Those who disagreed with him were presumably able to prevail because his health made it more difficult for him to fight them—which may also account for some of the thinly disguised defeats he has sustained over the past year or so on domestic policy issues.

In Washington, when Congress defeated a bill sponsored by the administration, it is headline news. In Moscow, when a measure proposed by Mr. Brezhnev is defeated, it is not even mentioned in the papers and yet it can still be discovered by reading between the lines of what is published.

For a number of years, for instance, Mr. Brezhnev made himself the chief proponent in public of the drafting of a new Soviet Constitution which would formally enshrine the "democratic" freedoms of the Soviet people. In 1972, he announced that the draft would be published by this year, in good time for the next party Congress and for a public discussion, after which it would be submitted to a "nationwide referendum." There were signs of opposition from some of the more conservative members of the party Establishment, who seemed to prefer a more leisurely pace. A nationwide debate and referendum would encourage the bolder spirits of the "Democratic Opposition," the persons who share the views of Alexander Solzhenitsyn or Andrei Sakharov, and are not afraid to publicize them through the clandestine "samizdat" press, to stand up at public meetings and to voice their opinions.

A Signal

When Mr. Brezhnev's 1972 broadcast speech was published, the reference to a referendum was omitted. But the proposal itself continued to receive publicity in a way which suggested that Mr. Brezhnev had set his heart on going down in history as among other things, the man who had given the Soviet Union a magnificent new Constitution. In the years that followed, Pravda let it be known that work on it was continuing by mentioning it in its annual article on Constitution Day but the customary formula was missing from the ritual editorial published last month. For the initiated, it was a signal that one of Mr. Brezhnev's pet proposals might be abandoned, and what was more important, that Mr. Brezhnev himself seemed to be in no position to save it.

This signal, which came during the same month that his visit to Egypt was canceled, and his assurances to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger about Jewish emigration were publicly retracted, coincided with mounting evidence of his illness, made apparent by the cancellation of a growing number of appointments with foreigners. His political malaise began long before that—and so, it seems, did his illness.

At the end of 1972, in a fighting speech to the Central Committee, he proposed a radical reconstruction of the whole system of economic management and planning. He had long struggled with the gross inefficiency of the Soviet economic system and he recognized the complexity of the task which he said, must be approached with forethought and caution. He was reassuring the bureaucrats, who were bound to oppose instinctively, almost automatically, any reorganization which would interfere with their powers and privileges, that his proposal would be more cautious than the previous attempts at economic reform, which were the dead weight of the bureaucracy. At the same time, he insisted, "we must see something else." The decision, he told them, "cannot be postponed for long," because the delay would affect the fulfillment of the current five-year plan, ending this year, which would create difficulties in drafting the next plan.

No Evidence

This meant that the reorganization should have begun long before now. There is no evidence that anything like a new economic reorganization plan is being put into effect, nor, indeed, that one has been drawn up. There is, on the other hand, some scattered evidence in the Soviet press that the debate between conservatives and reformers continues on this issue, as on others. And on this issue, Mr. Brezhnev must be counted a reformer—much as he is a reformer in pushing détente down the throats of suspicious Soviet conservatives. But his plan has been either defeated or sidetracked—which amounts to the



Alexander Shelepin

same thing—as was his proposal for a draft constitution, and another proposal, made last March, for the restructuring of the country's agricultural administration.

It is policy initiatives such as these, and their subsequent although unannounced failure, that are the Soviet equivalent of the Western process in which government proposals are defeated by the opposition or withdrawn by the government. In the Soviet Union, the debate is hidden, but sometimes a cryptic reference to the issue in the press, an abstract discussion of some seemingly philosophical point, the disappearance of a previously favored topic from the newspapers, the reappearance of a subject long avoided, allow the careful student to follow the course of the struggle.

This is now the essence of Kremlinology, which has changed greatly since the days it had to rely on pictures in Pravda and which has been made even more necessary by the seemingly intimate interaction of Soviet and Western leaders at summit meetings. For the intimacy does not extend to detailed reports from Mr. Brezhnev about the trouble he might be having with the opposition—although he might hint at it, and use it to extract concessions from a President Nixon or a President Ford. When the progress of his domestic policies is studied, or the lack of progress in the face of opposition is established, then Western policy makers can add the information.

'Kulakov's performance as party secretary in the provinces, and more recently as the secretary responsible for agriculture, suggests that he is both an able administrator and politician.'

acquired from such analyses to the impressions gleaned during their meetings with Soviet leaders and arrive at more balanced judgments of what is happening in the Kremlin.

Extravagant Praise

When, for instance, a party statement calls on the bureaucracy to act in keeping with the resolutions of the Central Committee, and with Mr. Brezhnev's speeches, as one called last month, analysts might see justified in concluding that this merely confirms Mr. Brezhnev's political strength, made evident at the recent Vladivostok meeting. When it is realized that comparable statements in the past stressed Mr. Brezhnev's role, then the new stress on the policy-making role of the Central Committee detracts from Mr. Brezhnev's political strength, by diluting it, instead of adding to it.

Earlier last year, Mr. Brezhnev began to receive some extravagant personal praise in the press, which also came to refer to him far more frequently than in the past as the "head" of the Politburo, of which he is formally the secretary, or servant. Was this evidence of his growing strength, as some analysts argued? A closer analysis of the political context of the Brezhnev adulation campaign suggested that this was a defensive tactic, designed to strengthen his position in the face of attempts to challenge his policies.

Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko recently sought to impress his audience, in the annual October anniversary speech, with the

"great authority" enjoyed by Mr. Brezhnev at summit meetings. Mr. Gromyko spoke of Mr. Brezhnev's great talent, the "tremendous" force of conviction which Mr. Brezhnev brings to his work, and of his "daily, tireless activity." In the light of Mr. Brezhnev's illness, which was already evident at that time, and certainly known to his challengers, this can be seen as an attempt to argue that Mr. Brezhnev was still fully capable of doing his work and doing it better than anyone else.

His political health, too, was suffering. With the political demise of Chancellor Willy Brandt and President Nixon, the earlier doubts of Soviet critics of détente, hinted at in the press, about the wisdom of basing foreign policy on personal contacts, received strong reinforcement. It became evident that Mr. Brezhnev's early promise of the great flow of dollars, of foreign capital and of advanced U.S. technology, which was the basis on which he sold or oversold, détente to some of his skeptical colleagues, was not going to be fulfilled. The assurances he had given about Jewish emigration were revoked, amid hints of dissatisfaction with his performance from some of his colleagues, such as Mr. Podgorniy, who had also taken issue with Mr. Brezhnev's earlier in the year on some of his economic policies.

Mr. Brezhnev's one great triumph was the Vladivostok summit and the SALT agreement on the numbers to which the strategic weapons of both sides were to be limited. When the misgivings of U.S. critics of the SALT agreement provoked Mr. Kissinger to argue that the Kremlin had made major concessions, it brought out into the open what Mr. Brezhnev's domestic critics had been saying all along.

Parallel Debates

The Soviet SALT debate has in many ways paralleled the U.S. debate and the hardliners in Moscow can make as plausible an argument as those in Washington that the Vladivostok agreement is against their country's best interests. They would ask whether Mr. Brezhnev, whose détente "successes" have been bountiful in their view, at the cost of repeated concessions—starting with Mr. Nixon's repudiation in Moscow after the bombing of Hanoi, and ending with the failure to challenge Mr. Kissinger effectively in the Middle East—is the best man to remain in charge of foreign policy. A man who has acquired the reputation of always giving way would, as his Soviet critics would see it, usually have to face a much harder negotiating position from the other side. A new man, unencumbered by such a past, might in their view make a better negotiator.

Even Mr. Brezhnev's personal commitment to détente and arms limitation could be viewed by his critics as putting the Soviet Union at a disadvantage. Because he has to achieve success in the negotiations in order to justify his policy and because he needs success to keep his critics at bay, he might be accused of making concessions, as President Nixon was, for reasons of personal rather than national policy.

In the debate about the "crisis of capitalism" now evident between the lines of the Soviet press, the hardliners appear to be stressing the danger of fascism, raising its ugly head in the West and provoking war—which means that the Soviet Union needs to rearm, not disarm. While some articles hint that the West's weakness should be exploited, others urge a continuation of the policy of "agreement and compromise" with those in the West who understand and accept the change in the balance of forces "in both the military and economic spheres." The West's crisis provides "a new impetus" for the policy of agreement and compromise, presumably in the sense that the West might now be more ready for it rather than a reason for exploiting it to the West's disadvantage. No doubt there are also those in Moscow who would like to do both, and the debate among all three factions is part of the wider Kremlin debate about détente, SALT and domestic policies such as the reorganization of the economy, all of which are connected.

The Issues

These are issues which, under different names, have been at the center of the Kremlin debate and power struggle since the death of Stalin and, indeed, since Lenin took power. They are the issues over which Mr. Brezhnev's successors will fight their own battles, dividing once again into conservatives and reformers, with the political and emotional coloring appropriate to these labels.

It is in these terms that I see the political struggle in the Soviet Union. Others see it as a struggle between "experimenter" and "conservator," concerned primarily with the survival of the system. Still

others see it as a reflection of Russia's age-old struggle between "Westerners" and "isolationists" which goes back to Peter the Great, who wanted to open a window to the world, to the Lenin-Stalin-Trotsky controversy about building "Socialism in one country" rather than both with world revolution, and to Khrushchev's and Mr. Brezhnev's attempts to promote détente in the face of internal opposition.

There is something to be said for all of these approaches, and they all point, whether taken together or separately, to the immediate future of the struggle when Mr. Brezhnev goes. It may be that the Soviet system will develop new and more civilized ways of conducting it than those we have seen on some previous occasions. But what we know of its past tells us that it cannot do away with political struggle any more than other political systems can.

The new problems looming ahead, the growing and disruptive force of nationalism among the nations turning the Soviet Union, the populations' demand for a better material life and for more freedom which has been merely staved off by the gradual improvements of recent years—all these will present Mr. Brezhnev's successors with greater difficulties than those with which he has had to grapple.

Same Policy

Unless "the crisis of capitalism" causes the kind of breakdown in the West which presents the Kremlin with an opportunity it cannot fail to exploit, the facts of power, both economic and military, would constrain Mr. Brezhnev's successors to follow broadly the same policy he has followed, even though he might be overthrown for following it.

Just as Mr. Brezhnev, after overthrowing Khrushchev, at first imposed a "freeze" on Soviet foreign policy for a few years, and then reversed it, so his own successors might at first seek to concentrate on consolidating the vast changes which Soviet foreign policy has undergone in recent years.

After the fall of Mr. Nixon, the Kremlin chose to stress above all else the "continuity" of U.S. foreign policy under President Ford. Its recognition that the preservation of such continuity in Washington was the most important aspect of the change of personalities suggests that when a similar change occurs in the Kremlin, the stress there will also be on continuity as the best way to preserve peace and to

'The character of the individuals who might take Brezhnev's place is... less important than the constraints under which they will all have to operate.'

insure at home the stability it needs.

As against these important policy considerations, the character of the individuals who might take Mr. Brezhnev's place is, having extremes, less important than the constraints under which they will all have to operate. No useful purpose can be served by speculating about the dozen or so individuals now ranked immediately below Mr. Brezhnev, who might be propelled into the top position by the twists and turns of a succession crisis. Mr. Kirilenko, Mr. Kulakov or Mr. Shelepin now seem to have a better chance for the succession but others are waiting in the wings.

What this analysis of Soviet political realities suggests is that Mr. Brezhnev's successors are unlikely to undo the foreign policies which he promoted—but a young, more energetic leader, who is prepared to do battle against the vested interests of the bureaucracy, may after a time come to promote such policies even more vigorously, and more effectively, than Mr. Brezhnev did. To create the necessary domestic conditions for this, a younger leader might seek to revive the anti-Stalinist sentiment which Khrushchev used to such good effect and thus stimulate the internal reforms without which the Soviet Union will not be able to take its proper place in the world, as one of its leading nations, not in terms of military might, but in terms of the contribution it can and should make to world progress.

Inevitably, this is a subjective, personal analysis, but it is about as right as one man's Kremlinology can make it.

How do I know? It stands to reason.

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Euromarket

Short-Term Interest Rates Plunge;
Bond Market Activity Revives

By Carl Gewirtz

PARIS, Jan. 12 (AP)—Euro-
market interest rates plunged more
than 2 percentage points last
week, setting up the conditions for
a rally in the Eurobond market.Two new dollar issues have been
announced and bankers have there-
fore expressed optimism that the
dollar will remain a modest
premium to the mark.The return on long-term
dollar investments is just over
7 per cent—well below what is
available in the long-term mar-
ket. The return on long-term
dollar investments is just over
10 per cent while the yield on DM
securities is just below 10 but
appears to be headed lower.Thus, going for the higher re-
turn and optimizing income would
appear to favor dollar invest-
ments. And with the dollar ap-
pearing to be some incentive for
European investors to move into
dollar securities.

Substantial Losses

Bankers are not too optimistic
on this last point. They acknowl-
edge that they have been saying
this since the dollar's official
devaluation in February, 1973, and
that the dollar has almost con-
sistently traded well below that
level, involving substantial losses
for investors who did make the
switch.Nevertheless, bankers do not see
the dollar going below its current
level. The interest-rate environ-
ment, which has fostered the dol-
lar's decline, is about to improve,
as other rates follow the dol-
lar's decline. A banker noted that, "if
the dollar gets too low, there will
be serious screaming in the Middle
East" from oil producers who are
paid in dollars.The indications late last week
were that sophisticated investors
were already on the prowl. Prices
on the secondary Eurobond mar-
ket in both deutsche marks and
dollars improved. To some ex-
tent, this was professional mar-
ket.Bankers now assume that it is
a matter of days before the
on government decides to ease
credit policies and push DM
interest rates lower. This will
be the pressure on the dollar-
DM rate, begin to relate the
money at a time when close
a million workers are unem-
ployed and when the West Ger-
man rate of inflation is one of
a lowest in Europe.For investors, it is clearly time
to revise strategy. Investors are
now looking to position them-
selves in an acceptable currency

Economic Indicators

WEEKLY COMPARISONS

	Jan. 3 Latest Week	Prior Week	1974
Commodity Index	207.8	207.9	212.6
Currency in Circ.	\$79,636,000	\$79,336,000	\$72,457,000
Total Loans	\$135,247,000	\$134,527,000	\$113,556,000
Steel prod. (tons)	2,482,000	2,487,000	2,487,000
Auto production	112,291	112,291	130,464
Daily oil prod. (bbls)	8,644,000	8,700,000	8,129,000
Electricity prod. (kwh)	21,138	21,138	20,410
Electricity cons. (kwh)	34,296,000	33,996,000	34,695,000
Sum of all	154	77	109

Statistics for commercial and agricultural loans, carloadings, steel,
oil, electricity power and business failures are for the preceding
week and latest available.

MONTHLY COMPARISONS

	Dec. 1974	Nov. 1974	Oct. 1974	Sept. 1974	Aug. 1974	July 1974	June 1974	May 1974	April 1974	March 1974	Feb. 1974	Jan. 1974
Employed	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000	85,176,000
Unemployed	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000	6,535,000
Incl. Prod. ...	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0	122.0
*Personal Income	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000	\$118,000,000
*Money supply	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000	\$283,100,000
*M2 price index	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3
*M3 price index	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3
*M4 price index	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3	154.3
*Imports	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000	\$147,000,000
*Exports	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000	\$9,000,000
*Imports	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500	\$174,500

*000 omitted. †Figures subject to revision by source.

Commodity index, based on 1967=100, the consumer price
index, based on 1967=100, and employment figures are compiled by
the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial production is Federal
Reserve Board's adjusted index of 1967=100. Imports and exports
are compiled by the Department of Commerce. Money supply is
total currency outside banks and demand deposits as reported by
Federal Reserve Board. Business failures compiled by
Dun & Bradstreet, Inc. Construction contracts are compiled
by the F. W. Dodge Division, McGraw-Hill Information Systems
Company.

R- Revised

ing up in anticipation of increased
buying. But analysts were at-
tentive to the increase in volume,
which they say is the surest sign
that investors are coming back.In the deutsche mark sector,
the New Zealand 100-million-DM
offering carrying a 9 3/4-per-cent
coupon and priced at par was
quoted at a premium of 101 bid,
101 1/2 asked. Allotments were
said to have been minuscule.The Calais National de des Ant-
routes is also selling 100 million
DM of seven-year bonds with the
same terms but the pricing has
not yet been set.

Eight-Year Issue

The European Investment Bank
sold 150 million DM of eight-year
bonds last week with a coupon
of 9 1/2 per cent and an issue
(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

The U.S. Economic Scene

Marking Time Until Ford Unveils His Program

By Thomas E. Mulvaney

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 (NYT).

All sectors of the economy—
save one—have been marking
time in recent weeks while the
administration contemplates
various options in the energy
taxation and monetary areas
for constructing a new game
plan to treat the ailments of
the fast-deteriorating American
economy. The lone exception
has been the rising stock mar-
ket, a traditional barometer
that lately has been acting
quite contrary to almost all
other leading economic indica-
tors.How reliable the stock market
has been as an oracle of coming
events is subject to dispute. But
its history shows a fairly good
record in forecasting turns in
the economy, despite the old
saw that it correctly predicted
"eight of the last six recessions."The market often makes false
starts, reacting prematurely on
rumors or hopes. But it has al-
ways moved down when a recession
was imminent and it has
usually started upward in ad-
vance of the subsequent busi-
ness recovery.Perhaps the stock market's
four-week advance is just an
other hasty, psychological start.
Or it may merely be anticipa-
tory of the moves to be attempt-
ed soon in Washington to deal
with the energy crisis, slowing
unemployment and reduced pro-
duction in so many sectors of
business.

Plan's Keystone

The administration has been
keeping its new economic plans
close to the vest but it is ex-
pected that the keystone of its
program will be a bid for a
large tax cut or rebate to spur
the economy and restore badlydepressed public and business
confidence.There is also bound to be a
major new initiative to reduce
the nation's dependence on
high-cost foreign oil through a
system of higher tariffs or fees
on petroleum products, as well
as some incentives to conserve
energy on a large scale and to
develop new domestic sources of
it. Some observers hope the
President's package suggests a
vast project for greater energy
self-sufficiency.

The greatest public attention,

however, has been focused on the
likelihood of a substantial tax
reduction (10 per cent or so)
to try to get the giant American
economy moving again, lest the
15-month recession assume
much more drastic proportions
and the current 7.1-per-cent un-
employment rate move to much
higher levels. To do that, most
analysts agree, will require a
much larger tax reduction than
the two most recent efforts to
spur the economy.The Revenue Act of 1964 pro-
vided for a tax reduction es-timated at the time to be \$12
billion but the revenue loss turned
out to be \$15.2 billion in the
subsequent calendar year. The
1969 Tax Reform and Relief Act
resulted in a net loss of \$4.1 bil-
lion in federal revenues, while
a \$1.1-billion increase in levies
on business reduced the \$2.2 bil-
lion cut in individual taxes.

Larger Cut Needed

This time, many analysts say,
the economy will require a sig-
nificantly larger tax cut because
of the scope of current problems.
And the experts say that the
economy can stand a more am-
bitious cut because of the great-
ly enlarged size of the nation's
economy during the last decade.Some persons have been
recommending a tax-relief pro-
gram amounting to as much as
\$25 billion, while others have
been urging that it be limited
to as little as \$10 billion to pre-
vent resurgence of inflation-
ary pressure.In the economic and business
world, however, the consensus
seems to be that the cut should
be in the range of \$15 billion to
\$20 billion. Most analysts favor
a figure at the upper end of that
band, as Charles Schultze, an
economist in some previous ad-
ministrations and now with the
Brookings Institution in Wash-
ington, recommended last week.It is clear that for the last
few months the force of infla-
tion has been pushing the Fed's
12-per-cent annual rate. The re-
cession and reduced real in-
come in the hands of the pub-
lic has reduced demand for
many goods, creating enlarged
inventories and inducing many
businessmen to cut prices. This
has been particularly true for
industrial commodities. And
lately some consumer goods,
including automobiles, have
been cut in price.

New York Stock Market

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 (NYT)—The stock market advanced sharply
last week on moderate trading. Prices were buoyed by expectations
that interest rates were beginning to move lower. High interest rates
have been one of the main reasons for the market's malaise in the
last year.At the end of trading Friday, the widely followed Dow Jones
industrial average had risen 34.33 points during the week to 653.79.
On Friday, the trend spread further when the First National
City Bank, the nation's second largest, reduced the interest it charges
its corporate customers to 10 per cent. Shortly thereafter the Bank
of America, the nation's largest, cut its prime rate to 10 per cent.The market was also helped by reports that President Ford was
considering a 10-per-cent rebate on taxes due for 1974 in an attempt
to stimulate consumer spending. Another factor was the news late
Thursday that business loans at 13 major New York city banks fell
\$490 million in the week ended Wednesday.In the credit markets, corporate bond prices made impressive
gains, spurred by the Fed's move toward easier credit and increased
institutional buying.Prices were also stimulated by the reduction in the prime interest
rate on Thursday by several banks to 10 1/4 per cent from 10 3/4 per
cent. On Friday, the trend spread further when the First National
City Bank, the nation's second largest, reduced the interest it charges
its corporate customers to 10 per cent. Shortly thereafter the Bank
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\$490 million in the week ended Wednesday.In the credit markets, corporate bond prices made impressive
gains, spurred by the Fed's move toward easier credit and increased
institutional buying.

Over-Counter Market

NEW YORK (AP)—Weekly over-
the-counter market activity for
the week ending Jan. 11, 1975,
was reported by the National
Association of Securities Dealers
Automatic Reporting Plan. The
plan provides for the reporting
of over-the-counter market activity
for a wide range of securities,
including common stocks, bonds,
convertible securities, and other
securities not traded on the
NYSE or other exchanges.

Sales reported by NASD, Jan. 11, 1975:

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

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Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Sales in 100s High Low Last Close

Domestic Bonds				Sales in \$1,000 High Low Last Net			
Bonds	1,000	High	Low	Last	Net	Change	
Abex 8 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 9 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 10 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 11 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 12 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 13 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 14 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 15 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 16 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 17 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 18 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 19 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
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Abex 22 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
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Abex 26 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 27 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 28 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 29 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 30 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 31 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 32 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 33 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 34 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 35 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 36 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 37 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 38 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 39 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 40 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 41 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 42 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 43 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 44 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 45 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 46 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 47 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 48 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 49 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 50 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 51 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 52 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 53 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
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Abex 56 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
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Abex 61 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 62 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 63 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 64 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 65 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 66 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 67 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 68 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 69 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 70 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 71 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 72 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 73 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 74 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
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Abex 80 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 81 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 82 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 83 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 84 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 85 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 86 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 87 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 88 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 89 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 90 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 91 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 92 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 93 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 94 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 95 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 96 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 97 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 98 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 99 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 100 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	

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Bond Sales on the New York Stock Exchange

Bonds				Sales in \$1,000 High Low Last Net			
Bonds	1,000	High	Low	Last	Net	Change	
Abex 8 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 9 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 10 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 11 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 12 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 13 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 14 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 15 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 16 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 17 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
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Abex 20 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 21 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
Abex 22 1/2	99	99	99	99	10	+10	
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Sports

season without a new contract, the association asked commissioner Bowie Kuhn to remove Tolan from the Padres' reserve list, in effect making him a free agent. Tolan never declined, explaining the player still was restricted by San Diego. Although it could turn out that Tolan was a free agent at that point, he signed a two-year contract—for 1974-75—on Dec. 9.

Some club officials have suggested that there are other solutions to the problem. One would bind a player to a club even if the renewal clause decision were to go against the

- Euromarket

However, Miller disagreed on both points, saying there is nothing in the current agreement that could offset a decision against the owners and any new rule would be subject to negotiations between the clubs and the association.

It is entirely possible that if the arbitration panel rules for the association, the decision would have greater significance in bargaining for a new agreement than in the actual number of players who would become free agents.

For a player to become a free agent, he not only would lose 20 per cent of his previous year's salary but he also would have to forego the raise he might otherwise receive.

In other words, if a player who earned \$50,000 and had a good season in 1974 wanted to become a free agent, he most likely would have to play the 1975 season for \$40,000 instead of, say, \$75,000 he might be able to get if he signed a new contract.

In addition, he would be tak-

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On Page 11**

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Steelers Win Super Bowl With Mighty Defense

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 12 (UPI)—The Pittsburgh Steelers today won the Super Bowl, defeating the Minnesota Vikings 16-6 in the first of the National Football League's annual championship games.

The Steelers, playing for their second title since their inception in 1933, threw up a stout defense against the Vikings, making Minnesota the only team to ever lose three Super Bowls.

One of the most exciting moments of the game came in the third quarter when the Steelers' defense sacked Vikings quarterback Fran Tarkenton, who became the sixth American Conference

club in the last seven years to defeat its National Conference opponent in the Super Bowl.

Minnesota rushed for only 21 yards, eight less than the Steelers allowed Oakland in their AFC title game two weeks ago. Minnesota gained 123 yards overall.

White, Holmes and rookie Jack Lambert produced a safety in the second quarter and when rookie Merv Kellum recovered Bill Brown's fumble at the second-half kickoff, the Steelers started moving.

With second and 10 on the Viking 30, Harris ripped 24 yards to the Minnesota six. After a three-yard loss, Harris churned around left end for the touchdown and a 9-0 lead.

The Vikings made one big move in the game, in the final quarter when rookie Matt Blair

blocked Bobby Walden's punt and Terry Brown recovered in the end zone for Minnesota's lone touchdown. The extra-point, however, glanced off the upright and went astray.

The Steelers then put it out of reach when Bradshaw threw 30 yards to Larry Brown and Rocky Bleier blasted 17 more yards to the Viking 44. With Harris blocking away, the Steelers moved to the four when Bradshaw rolled to his right and fired to Brown in the end zone for the score that put it away.

Bradshaw's touchdown pass came after a controversial and hotly-disputed call on the 50-yard pass to Brown, who bobbed the ball. One official signaled Minnesota had recovered, but he was overruled.

Thousands of gold and black clad fans chanting "We're No. 1" through the final four minutes of the game surrounded the Steelers, who had to fight their way to their dressing room.

The Steelers' first big break came in the second period.

Pittsburgh decided to punt with a fourth and two on the Viking 46 and rookie Sam McCullum made a key blunder, fielding the ball at the seven as it rolled toward the end zone. He was dropped immediately and the Vikings were in trouble.

On first down, Chuck Foreman went for three yards and, on the second play, Fran Tarkenton turned to hand the ball to Dave Osborn but never made the exchange. The ball rolled toward the end zone, Tarkenton pounced on it as it went over the goal line and White, hospitalized all week with a viral infection, Holmes and Lambert descended on him for a safety.

Pittsburgh dominated the whole first half, holding the Vikings to only 11 yards rushing in 11 attempts. But still the Steelers could manage only the 2-0 lead.

The Steelers threatened three times and all three times Minnesota's beleaguered defense withstood the attack.

Midway through the first period, the Steelers took over on their 34 and, sparked by a key 16-yard pass from Bradshaw to Brown, marched to the Viking 26.

Blair ran for four yards, but Harris was stopped after only two and Bradshaw overthrew Frank Lewis. Roy Gerela's 37-yard field-goal attempt then hooked wide to the left.

The Vikings turned the ball over after only three plays and the Steelers again roared downfield. Blair's five-yard run, Ron Shanklin's five-yard reverse and a 14-yard blast by Harris preceded Bradshaw's 11-yard carry to the 18.

But again the Vikings stiffened. Harris was stopped for no gain and then picked up only two yards before cornerback Jackie Wallace broke up a pass in the end zone to Lewis.

Gerela lined up for an attempt from the 33, but the snap from center squirted through holder

Bobby Walden's hands and Walden was forced to fall on the ball. The Vikings, held to zero yards rushing in the first period, mounted only two serious threats in the half.

Early in the second period, Blair had the ball knocked out of his hands by Jeff Wright and Randy Pohl and Minnesota recovered on the Steel 24. But Osborn was stopped after a two-yard pickup and two Tarkenton passes fell incomplete. Fred Cox then attempted a 38-yard field goal that sailed off to the left.

Minnesota mounted a last-ditch march from its 20 late in the half. A 10-yard pass from Tarkenton to Foreman after a 15-yard pass interference penalty against Mel Blount and another 17-yard throw to Foreman set up a first and 10 at the Steel 25. But Tarkenton's pass over the middle to Gilliam was jarred loose by safety Glen Edwards and intercepted by Blount on the goal line.

Pittsburgh 16 3 7 16
Minnesota 0 0 0 6
Pitts.—Safety (Tarkenton lacked in end zone).
Pitts.—Harris, 8 run (Gerela kick).
Minn.—T. Brown recovered blocked punt in end zone (kick failed).
Pitts.—L. Brown, 4 pass from Bradshaw (Gerela kick).

two seconds. It was his second slalom victory of the year.

Bruce hooked a ski on the second run after losing his rhythm and fell.

The complicated World Cup scoring system saw Klammer's lead in the standings cut to 24 points. He has 119 points against 95 for Gros and 70 each for Thoeni and Stenmark.

Klammer gave a stunning performance yesterday, clocking 60.3 miles an hour down the Lauberhorn course. He left his nearest rival, Herbert Plank of Italy, 3.54 seconds behind—the widest margin ever recorded in a World Cup race.

It was Klammer's fourth downhill triumph in a row and a victory at Kitzbuehel, Austria, later this week would give him a share of Jean-Claude Killy's record of five.

"You look at other racers and you think they have done everything perfectly," said one Swiss coach. "Then you look at Klammer. You can't pinpoint where he is getting his edge but you have the general feeling that he applies more pressure to the skis and is simply faster."

Erik Haaker, who calls himself "Norway's one-man ski team," created a surprise in the downhill by finishing third after skilling through the runs from the 24th starting position.

Stenmark again proved he is the only man who can beat the Italians in the slalom, despite the icy conditions which the Italians prefer.

Proell-Moser, commenting that she has reached her peak for the season, easily won the giant slalom, recording the fastest times on both the top and bottom halves of the course to clock 1:20.34. Serrat did 1:20.94, and Hanni Wenzel of Liechtenstein was third with 1:21.51.

"Now I feel I have reached my peak; I concentrate on every race and I ski better if I am annoyed," said Proell-Moser.

Her anger was aimed at the Austrian girls' team coach Sepp Bernegger, with whom the girls, and Proell-Moser in particular, have fallen out. Austrian team sources said he would be replaced shortly because "it is easier to find a new coach than a new world champion."



A GRIP ON THINGS—Vikings' Alan Page gets to Steelers' quarterback Terry Bradshaw and dumps the passer in first-half action in Super Bowl in New Orleans. Steelers won.

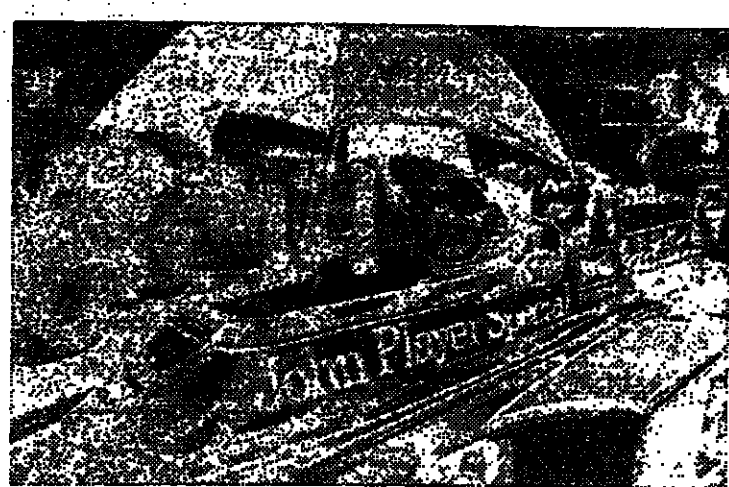
ittipaldi 1st Grand Prix Argentina

BUENOS AIRES, Jan. 12 (UPI)—Nelson Piquet of Brazil, champion in 1973 and 1974, started the 1975 Formula 1 auto racing season by winning the Argentine Grand Prix.

James Hunt of Britain was second in a Honda, followed by Jos Verstappen of Argentina.

Regazzoni of Switzerland, fourth in a Ferrari, followed Patrick Depailler of France in third.

The other Ferrari, driven by Lauda of Austria, was sixth. The United States' Mark Donohue was seventh in his new



Sweden's Ronnie Peterson, and his Lotus, are protected from sun by umbrella while stopping in pits.

san-Pierre-Jarier of France, in a UOP Shadow, failed to make start of the race after winning the pole position in the practice.

Mechanical trouble kept the UK car in the pits and Jarier's automatically disqualified for failing to reach the grid five minutes before the start.

Ronnie Peterson of Sweden cut out in the 15th lap with a fuel problem in his Lotus and was lastly abandoned in the 20th lap with a broken engine.

His Williams, John Watson of Britain, in a Surtees, also abandoned.

Wilson Fittipaldi's Brazil-built peracar spun out and caught fire early in the race, but he was not hurt.

Miller, With Help of 61, Leads by Seven Strokes

PHOENIX, Ariz., Jan. 12 (AP)—Johnny Miller cooled off a little yesterday but still expanded his lead to seven strokes after three rounds of the \$150,000 Phoenix Open golf tournament.

Miller, the 1974 player of the year and author of an incredible 10-under-par 61 in Friday's second round, put together a 64-hole total of 198, the best three-round total on the pro tour in at least three years, with a 68. He has a 17-under-par total on the 6,738-yard Phoenix Country Club course.

Miller's seven-stroke lead was the largest three-round advantage in any event on the American tour since 1973.

"I think this was my best round of the tournament," Miller said. "It was not a very well played round at all."

"I kind of wanted to get this round behind me. Now I want to go out and shoot a good round tomorrow and break the tournament record. I want to hold on to this seven-stroke lead and just watch the holes run out on everybody else," Miller said. Miller won this event, along with seven others, last year.

Only Mike Hill could keep Miller in sight. Hill, usually a very poor performer early in the year, had a 69 and was second at 203.

U.S. Open champion Hale Irwin had the best round of the mild, sunny day, a 65 for a 210 total. PGA titleholder Lee Trevino took a 72 and was at 315.

Jack Nicklaus, Arnold Palmer and Gary Player skipped this event, the first tournament of the year on the tour.

Miller, winner of a record \$53,000 last year, hit a spectacular off the first tee. He had to wait for his ball to fall out of a tree on the third, found palm trees again on the sixth and seventh, was buried under the lips of bunkers on the eighth and 13th, and three-putted the 14th.

THIRD-ROUND LEADERS	
Johnny Miller	67-61-68-196
Mike Hill	71-63-69-203
Roy Pace	68-68-68-206
J.C. Snead	68-72-67-207
Gene Littler	71-67-70-208
Ed Sneed	71-68-68-208
Tommy Aaron	68-72-68-209
Dick Letts	68-68-73-209
Jerry Heard	74-68-67-209
Hale Irwin	75-70-65-210

NHL Standings

Division 1					
	W	L	T	GF	GA
Philadelphia	25	10	6	58	142
Rangers	21	11	8	50	172
St. Louis	19	15	0	47	120
Washington	14	24	4	44	160
Division 2					
Carroll	22	15	4	49	149
Alto	18	19	4	40	141
Mont	16	19	6	38	136
Los Angeles	11	24	6	27	107
San Jose	8	28	3	20	172
Division 3					
Alto	23	6	13	59	129
Alto	23	6	12	58	123
Alto	15	17	9	39	163
Alto	16	22	7	77	111
Alto	17	24	11	61	254
Division 4					
Alto	25	9	7	57	178
Alto	24	7	7	55	188
Alto	14	20	7	35	141
Alto	17	24	11	39	172
Friday's Game					

